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The Forms of Twentieth-Century Cancels

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"Except for a couple of references to cancelled title-leaves . . . Chapman's monograph on *Cancels* deals with no example later than 1825. . .

"Have we any such guidance for the post-mechanization types of cancel?" John Carter, in "Some Bibliographical Agenda," *Third Annual Windsor Lectures in Librarianship* (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1952), p. 69.

IT is one of the peculiarities of the expanding book market that a successful literary work sometimes starts being successful in terms of numbers sold before the author can read a completed copy of the first impression, and by the time he may want a page, a plate, or a signature cancelled, an entire impression may have been scattered, if not to the winds, at least to the members of a book club. Revision aside, therefore, the efforts of an editor to select a copytext will often in the future involve the use of more than one impression of a first edition.

* The author wishes to record not only his indebtedness for helpful suggestions from Messrs. Jacob Blanck, Fredson Bowers, and Earle Walbridge, but also the fact that this paper had its origin as one of a series of talks on twentieth-century bibliographical problems prepared at the request of the student seminar of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia.

In dealing with cancels, an editor of a twentieth-century work may depend in part only on the classical bibliographer's methods and terminology. R. W. Chapman's *Cancels* (1930) will, of course, serve as his main guide, but he will need to add to Chapman's considerations the concept of cancelled plates. Plates which have been emended without replating are sometimes easy to detect, but present-day re-electrotyping of individual plates is not easy to spot, and as we begin the second half of the twentieth century, we shall doubtless become more and more dependent on mechanized collation for the discovery of cancelled passages. (Details of this procedure are outlined by Charlton Hinman in his "Mechanized Collation: A Preliminary Report," PAPERS, 41 [1947], 99-106.)

Meanwhile, in order that the problems of cancelled leaves, cancelled gatherings, and cancelled plates may be properly placed before the bibliographers who are beginning to be interested in the books of the first half of this century, the following catalogue of varieties is offered.

PART I

Substituted Leaves

The standard twentieth-century example of the classical leaf-substitution cancel is Somerset Maugham's *Painted Veil* (1925), which, besides cancel gatherings, has in one state or issue fifteen single-leaf cancels, inserted in an effort to remove references to Hong Kong as the setting of the novel. For details of these cancels, see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949), p. 419, citing Percy Muir, *Points: Second Series* (London, 1934), p. 132-4; and F. T. Bason, *Bibliography of ... Maugham* (London, 1931), p. 38-9. The more recent Maugham bibliographies also deal with the cancels. (For the titles of these, see PAPERS, 44 (1950), 293-5.)

A less usual substitution, in that a quarto signature is pasted

to the stubs of two cancelled leaves, the two leaves having been extended to four by leaving the versos blank, is

Louis Charlanne, *L'Influence française en Angleterre au xvii^e Siècle* . . . Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1906. xix, 614 p.

Pages ix-xii have been cancelled, and 4 leaves (rectos only printed), signed a' on the first leaf, have been substituted.

I have heard the objection of bibliographers to the presentation of evidence from French printing that "French printing is peculiar anyway," but in fact it is not the French, but the printers and authors who are peculiar; not to speak of those who (like the present writer) refer to themselves as bibliographers by reason of their being able to detect and classify certain peculiarities of printers and authors.

Substituted Gatherings

The detection of substituted gatherings is one of the cruces of twentieth-century cancels. John Carter, in his "Some Bibliographical Agenda" in *Third Annual Windsor Lectures in Librarianship* (1952), p. 69, cautiously supposed that "none of [the bibliographers] seems to have faced the fact that a substitute gathering does not differ in essentials . . . from a single substitute leaf." But the truth is that Fredson Bowers (*Principles of Bibliographical Description*, p. 419) faced the fact squarely enough in dealing with the "cancellans gatherings" of D. H. Lawrence's *The White Peacock* (1911), and the "complete cancellans gatherings" in Maugham's *Painted Veil* (1925). Nor was Bowers any pioneer in this recognition, as will be seen by looking at John A. Holden's *The Bookman's Glossary* (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1925), p. 27. It is worth noting that the Lawrence and Maugham cancel gatherings were discovered by the signposts of cancel leaves, which are not likely always to precede or follow other such cancel gatherings. Skeletons, press figures, and chainline patterns may be used as aids to detection in some eighteenth- and

nineteenth-century books, but if anyone wants an example of the difficulty of detecting twentieth-century sheet cancels, let him try to identify one in Franklin D. Roosevelt's *On Our Way* (N. Y., 1934), before looking up the notes on the subject by Frederick B. Adams, Jr., in PAPERS, 37 (1943), 227.

Excised Leaves

The excision of leaves without substitution of others must be extremely unusual, but an example is nevertheless offered:

Association of Tile Manufacturers. *Glazed Tiles and Trimmers* . . . , Beaver Falls, Penna., Published by the Association, [Copyright, 1921]. 86 p. Publication No. K-400.

"Pages 79-84 have been removed because of a ruling of the U. S. Department of Justice which restrains this association from compiling and publishing any tabulations of list prices of tiles. The mailing of the book was delayed for two years awaiting a decision on this point. . . ." (From a leaf pasted to the stubs.)

The explanation for an excision does not always so handily accompany the phenomenon. Howard Mott reported (PAPERS, 35 [1941], 207) that "for some unknown reason the frontispieces were cancelled out of the bound copies" of William Beebe's *Edge of the Jungle* (N. Y., 1921). The only copy of this book that I have seen has no clear indication of its ever having had a frontispiece.

Paste-overs

Paste-over cancels are not uncommon on the covers of twentieth-century European price-tagged books. William Heinemann's paper-bound plays issued before 1920, for example, carried a printed price notice just above the cover imprint. About the time of World War I, this price annotation was cancelled with a series of paste-on slips, one of which read, "To meet the increased cost of binding and overhead charges, the price of Heinemann's paper-covered plays is temporarily raised from 1/6 to 2/-." A later slip in another setting is identical in wording except for the final price figure, which reads "2/6."

The first variety may be seen on the University of Virginia copy of Arthur Wing Pinero's *Preserving Mr. Panmure* (London, 1912); and the second on the same library's copy of the same author's *The Times, A Comedy* (London [1915; i.e., the third impression]).

A less common but more interesting type of paste-on cancel may be seen in Louis Barthou's *Italy's Effort* (Paris, 1917), and Edouard Herriot's *Russia's Effort* (Paris, 1917). When these two pamphlets were printed, the publishers, Bloud & Gay, got mixed up on the covers, so that Herriot's work originally carried Barthou's name and *vice versa*. Paste-over cancels were applied to make the covers conform to the correct authorship assignments on the title pages.

A more common type of paste-over cancel is produced by a change in publisher. Examples could be multiplied, but one from Germany will suffice:

> The imprints in Vol. 1 of Leonardo Olschki's *Geschichte der Neusprachlichen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur* (the first volume was entitled *Die Literatur der Technik und der Angewandten Wissenschaften . . .*) originally read "Heidelberg | Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung | 1919." The facing imprints were cancelled by paste-ons, presumably after the publication of the first volume and before the publication of the second. The paste-on wording is: "Leipzig—Firenze—Roma—Genève | Leo S. Olschki | 1919." Wording of the imprints in Vol. 2 is identical with the cancel except for the date line, which in Vol. 2 reads "1922."

Sometimes, of course, the change-of-publisher paste-overs are not really cancels at all. The American copies of John Holloway's *The Victorian Sage* (1953) are a case in point. The book was printed in London with the normal London Macmillan imprint. Since 1952, however, the London and New York Macmillans have become completely independent firms, and the London publisher's books are distributed in this country by the St. Martin's Press. The label pasted over the imprint in *The Victorian Sage* (it reads: St. Martin's Press | New York) was, therefore,

only tipped over the imprint, with no effort at obliterating the original imprint. Indeed, the object of the paste-over seems not only to have been to supply information concerning the American distributor, but also to show who the original publisher was. This can hardly be called a cancel, because nothing was cancelled.

Another such change-of-publisher addition (this time a full leaf) is cited by Paul Dunkin in *How to Catalog a Rare Book* (Chicago, 1951), p. 65, from Percy Muir's *Points* (London, 1931), p. 95. It is in Gordon Bottomley's *The Gate of Smaragdus* (1904), but is again no cancel.

Obliteration, Overwriting and Overprinting

Hand obliteration without access to multiple copies of a work is difficult to distinguish from individual blotting, and overprinting is difficult to spot if it is done on a printing press. The following examples will serve to show something of the possible variety under this heading:

Arthur D. Howden Smith, *Mr. House of Texas* (New York and London, Funk & Wagnalls, 1940).

On page 54, third line of the second paragraph, the sentence "He had a talent for intrigue." has been struck through with India (?) ink. One supposes that a threat of libel suit may have been involved here. Both the cancelled form and an advance reviewer's copy without it, are in the University of Virginia collections. Attention was called to this cancel by a letter to the University of Virginia Librarian from a reader in another city, with another cancelled copy, who wanted to know how the obliterated sentence read.

Titian, Paintings, and Drawings. Vienna, Phaidon Press; London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., [1937].

On the verso of the title page, the line "Printed in Austria" was obliterated by a rubber stamp, which also substituted another line "Printed in Germany." The book was printed in Innsbruck, and the stamp obviously postdates the annexation of Austria by Hitler in 1938 in the *Drang nach Osten.*

Mrs. James Joyce Arthur (Glenn Dora Fowler), *Annals of the Fowler Family.* Austin, Texas, 1901.

The original imprint read "Ben C. Jones & Co., Printers and Publishers." A rubber stamp was used to obliterate the printer's name and also (or perhaps another stamp) was used to substitute a line reading "Published by the Author."

Plate Substitution Within an Impression

The essential bibliographical difference between a plate substitution in the middle of a self-perfecting machine run and the resetting of a page in the middle of a handpress machining of a forme must be immediately apparent to the serious student. There are some phenomena arising from the distribution practices made possible by machine printing, however, that are not so immediately apparent, though they have a direct bearing on cancels. The "date of publication" of a handpress book has a reasonably specific meaning that is not altogether applicable to some modern, long-run, chain-line production jobs of this century. To take an exaggerated case of this, consider *Life*, a weekly news-picture magazine, which has a nominal and largely fictitious publication date on Thursday. (The publication date is not of course any more nominal or fictitious in quite another way than that of many present-day novels. Lella Warren's *Whetstone Walls* [New York, 1952], was published in several Southern states on November 7th, in the rest of the United States on the 14th.) As each parcel of copies of *Life* comes off the assembly line, that particular parcel escapes permanently and irrevocably into the public domain and is not retrievable for purposes of cancelling a leaf. In one sense at least the handpress's moment of publication of an edition becomes with some modern productions an immeasurable succession of moments of publication. A cancel in such printing jobs must, therefore, if the term is to be used at all, become a cancelled plate rather than a cancelled leaf. A specific example in *Life* may be offered in Vol. 8, No. 25, the issue dated July 17, 1940, where the original plate for page 83 was captioned "In his latest movie Charlie Chaplin plays a Dictator of the Double Cross." Chaplin, on June 13th, when the press run

was more than half done, obtained an injunction from the federal courts forcing the deletion of the picture, and claiming damages of a million dollars (see *New York Times,* June 13, 1940, p. 21). Later copies from the same impressions have a different picture on page 83, captioned "Henry Ford inspects an Army pursuit plane and ponders mass military production." The Chaplin picture was in 1,600,000 copies; the Ford picture in 1,000,000. The relevance of this example to a literary student's interests will be more apparent if one remembers that *Life,* though a news-picture magazine, published an entire Hemingway novel in its issue for September 1, 1952.

Plate Emendation Between Impressions

Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* (1933) is a good example of plate-emendation because it offers clear specimens of two different kinds of changes. There are the simple corrections of misprints (as *Xavier* for *Xaxier* on p. 352 in the second or later impression; *ship* for *shop* on p. 1086 in the third or later impression), all obviously efforts to arrive at a correct copy of the original text. And then there is the post-publication textual revision of a mistranslation (*Fountain* for *Flame* on p. 494 of the fourth or later impression). Since these are all apparently replatings, the use of the expression "cancelled plates" in referring to them seems proper, though plate-cancellation is not always easily distinguished from the technically different word-cancellation within a plate, a phenomenon so common as not to need further illustration.

Whether the bibliographical purist will want to use the term "cancel" either for a plate cancelled between impressions or for a word cancelled in a plate between impressions remains to be seen. It is suggested here that the word should be so used for the sake of convenience wherever the intent of the author or publisher is rather more clearly to cancel than to correct back to an original text. Thus it is proposed that plate 352 in *Anthony Ad-*

verse be called a corrected or uncorrected plate, but that plate 494 be called cancelled or uncancelled.

The convenience and usefulness of such terminological use will become immediately apparent to the bibliographer dealing with twentieth-century printing if he will consider Chapter XXVIII in Vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (N. Y., 1921). The chapter ("Popular Bibles") as originally written was by [Isaac] Woodbridge Riley, but pressure from the Christian Science Church (see *The Nation,* 112 [1921], 641) quickly caused the suppression of the original chapter, and a totally different one written by Lyman P. Powell appeared in all impressions after the first. There was apparently some signature-cancelling in copies of the first impression, which (if it did occur) involved not only pp. 517-32, but also the Contents sheet.

It is submitted that without an elaborate bibliographical investigation, the undertaking of which in this instance seems an idle way to squander time, it is not easy to determine which of the 1921 printed copies (there were impressions in February and October) were original impressions with cancelled signatures, and which were second impressions using new plates for pp. 517-32. The cancels (if there were any) may, for example, have been run on the same stock of Warren Olde Style wove paper as the original impression. For most purposes of bibliographical description of this particular work, it seems easy, accurate, and adequate to say that ViU copy 59199 has the uncancelled plates 517-32 and that ViU copy 289030 has the cancel plates.

For those who search for terminological difficulties, however, it may be well to record that plate 420 in Maurice Thompson's *Alice of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1900) did not appear in the first five impressions, but ran in several after it was added to the sixth impression. It was finally cancelled. This is a detail that is not fully or correctly described (perhaps because of terminological difficulties) in the fine book by Dorothy Russo and Thelma Sullivan, *Bibliographical Studies of Seven Authors of Crawfordsville*

(Indianapolis, 1952), p. 222. Whether a textual intrusion may properly be said to have been cancelled can be left to the future usage of bibliographers.

Cancelled Bindings

It is not uncommon for small-edition publishers even in the twentieth century to bind only part of an edition on publication, holding a portion of the sewed sheets to reduce the capital outlay. Isaac Jefferson's *Memoirs of a Monticello Slave* (Charlottesville, Va., 1951) is a case in point. A thousand copies were printed, 500 of them bound in 1951 in red cloth, 500 in 1952 in blue cloth. This should not of course be regarded as "cancellation." The expression "cancelled binding" might, however, conceivably be used in referring to such a book as the Varner translation of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Florida of the Inca* (Austin, Texas, 1951). The Kingsport Press in Tennessee did the binding. The original front-cover binding stamp was a mailed fist squeezing Christ on a crucifix. This was withdrawn from fear of offense, and only a few copies for the translator and publisher were stamped with the cancelled stamp. These were never placed on sale. The published copies carried a stamp showing a mailed fist holding an empty wooden cross.

If the suggested terminology for plates is paralleled in this instance for bindings, it should be remembered that it is the stamp and not the binding that has been cancelled. Thus it would be correct to refer to the uncancelled stamp (or to-be-cancelled or cancelled—they would be one and the same; i.e., the one with Christ, as in ViU copy 293180) or to the cancel stamp, as used on most copies (the one with no Christ; e.g., ViU copy 292393).

Cancelled Dust Jackets

Although there are few likely instances in which a dust jacket can have much more bearing on a bibliographer's interest in the text of a book than he might have in the kind of postage stamp

used by a publisher to mail a volume, a few examples of cancelled dust jackets are offered.

Thomas Jefferson, *Papers,* edited by Julian Boyd (Princeton, 1950), Vol. 1.

Advance copies of the first volume were sent out with a dust jacket which had a misprint "by him" for "to him" in line 8 of the text on the front flap. The jacket was rerun, substituted on "copies distributed to the general public," and separately mailed to the recipients of the advance copies with a slip requesting "Will you please substitute it for the one you have."

Roger Vercel, *Tides of Mont St.-Michel* (New York, 1938).

There were two quite different dust jackets issued with this book before publication. One (a) had a blurb for the book itself on the front flap only, with a Modern Library advertisement on the back flap. On the other (b), the blurb was rewritten and extended, so that it was continued on the back flap, and there was no Modern Library advertisement. The (a) form was on white paper with a gray tint block. The (b) was on yellow paper without a tint block.

The only instance that has come to my attention in which a cancelled dust jacket has any sort of textual interest is Barnaby Dogbolt's [pseud. of Herbert Silvette] *Eve's Second Apple* (N. Y., 1946). The novel, through galley proof, was called *Bomb of Gilead.* In page proof the title was changed to *Eve's Second Apple* because of the appearance of Agnes Edwards Rothery's [i.e., Mrs. Harry Rogers Pratt's] *Balm of Gilead,* 1946. Both authors in 1946 were part of the Charlottesville, Va., community, and since Silvette's novel was a satire on certain aspects of Charlottesville life not connected with Mrs. Pratt, the coincidence of titles would presumably have introduced a confusing misconception of the intended satire.

Although the original title was changed on the title page of the page proof, "Bomb of Gilead" still survived at this stage on the running titles, though these too were finally changed before the press run of the published work.

Meanwhile, however, the dust jacket had proceeded as an independent operation, and at least some jackets were fully print-

ed with the original title. The eventual appearance, therefore, of the work with the corrected "Eve's Second Apple" on title page, running titles, and dust jacket, involved only one cancel, namely the dust jacket; all other changes were proof changes. Thus the survival of a copy with an uncancelled dust jacket would (without access to the proof sheets) be the only strictly bibliographical clue to the novel's original title from any completed copy of the work. I am not sure that any such copy ever existed, or if it did, whether it has survived.

Normally dust jackets are considered the publisher's province, so that even when the author writes glowingly about himself and his work for use on the jacket, he does so in the third person. The probability that authors seldom do see final proofs of the jacket, however, must be the major cause for jacket cancellation. The first impression of the jacket of Francis Coleman Rosenberger's *Jefferson Reader* (New York, 1953) described the editor as a "graduate of" the University of Virginia. Mr. Rosenberger felt that since his University does not award honorary degrees, his publisher shouldn't. In the second impression of the jacket, therefore, the word "attended" was substituted for "a graduate of." If this was a between-press alteration, should it be called a cancel? The remarkable and untidy fact is that it should be, because even the reviewers' advance copies reaching Virginia had the corrected jackets. The probability that the earlier impressed jackets were later used elsewhere can hardly displace the original fact of cancellation.

With the precedent before him of the Modern Library's misstatement on the dust jacket of *Barren Ground* that Ellen Glasgow took a degree and won a Phi Beta Kappa key at the University of Virginia, Mr. Rosenberger need not have been quite so punctilious. At least he had attended the University, which was more than Miss Glasgow had done. At any rate, the *Jefferson Reader* jacket was cancelled, and the *Barren Ground* jacket was not.

The covers of literary journals sometimes suffer from much the same vicissitudes as dust jackets. The April 1929 number of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, with the exception of two or three copies (one of which I have carefully preserved for posterity), had its original cover ripped off and a new one installed with a corrected spelling in the title of an article, which originally appeared as "The Uncultered South."

Last year's pre-election issue of *Time* which escaped with the wrong cover may also have been an accident.

PART II

It is not to be supposed that textual changes are confined by any means to cancels. When it is thought necessary to change something in a printing surface from which post-proof impressions have already been taken, the alteration or alterations may take quite a wide variety of forms, which may be roughly outlined under the following heads:

In-Press Alterations

(a) *Substituted Type.* Substituted type may be introduced into an unlocked forme if errors are noticed during the press run. The process, common enough in hand-press printing, can occur (and doubtless has occurred many times) in machine printing. It is presumably easier to accomplish such a substitution with linotype-set text than with monotype, but there is no reason to suppose that it has not occurred with both.

(b) *Amended Plates.* The mortising of new type into a plate is not something that can be suddenly done, and since the process of plate emendation carried on within an impression would idle a machine unless another made-up forme were ready at hand for substitution while the emendation is in process, this kind of correction seems unlikely to occur often. No example of it has been found, although plate emendation between impressions is common enough.

It is not surprising that plate emendations should often precede the first plate impression. Casting defects and handling damage are presumably the cause of most of these. Other such emendations, however, come about as the result of access to impressions from the type used for the plate making. Even though these are plate emendations preceding the first plate impression, I deal with them below as "Between-Press Alterations" because two impressions from the same setting are involved, and the changes are made between the two impressions.

Edith Lewis, in her *Willa Cather Living* (New York, Knopf, 1953), p. 161, says of plate proofs, "I believe it is not customary to send the author foundry proofs." While this may, to the best of my knowledge, be taken as a general rule, Miss Lewis goes on to point out that Willa Cather herself "always asked to see them," and in the case of *Shadows on the Rock* had the plates altered at the last minute to change two Archbishops into Bishops. Interesting as this kind of change may be to the textual student, it need not concern the student of cancels because it is clearly a *bona fide* instance of proof alteration. On the other hand, such Willa Cather alterations as from the "transit of Venus" to the "occlusion of Venus" in "Two Friends," or the adjustment that kept water from running up-hill in the Arroyo Hondo troughs in *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 161) are, under the present proposals, cancels proper and will be found to fall into one of the categories enumerated in this article.

(c) *Plate Substitution.* It takes long enough to make a new plate to rule out plate substitution within an impression as a likelihood except in the very longest runs. In the case of stopped impressions, plate substitution is of course not much less likely than plate emendation; but on long runs, the involvement of two plates means that a cancel plate may be substituted with small loss in press time. The only instance of plate substitution within an impression that has been found was on a press run of more than two and a half million copies. Plate substitution is,

however, like plate emendation, common between impressions.

If an example of either plate emendation or plate substitution is found within the impression from a press in which each successive sheet is perfected before the printing of the next sheet (where, in short, there is a time lag between the printing of two states of one sheet), it would clarify the terminology if the word "impression" were reserved for an entire book. Such an occurrence with a one-sheet book would thus produce two impressions if the suggestion of cancelled plates advanced here is unacceptable. But in a multiple-sheet book, the single impression aspect of the majority of the sheets should be adhered to, and the odd re-impressed sheet might most conveniently be referred to as having two impositions within the book's single impression. The terminological problem would not arise with machine presses which print only one side of a sheet in one operation.

Between-Press Alterations

(a) *Amended Standing Type.* With the availability of stereotype and electrotype processes, the preservation of standing type for later impressions must be extremely rare in machine printing except under unusual conditions. Among the unusual conditions should be mentioned the "special editions," where the life of the standing type is short, and the products of the small nonmetropolitan shop.

"Special editions" such as reviewers' copies in page-galley-form (i.e., paged, but run through the proof press in the galley, generally three pages to the galley) from type that has just been returned by the electrotyping department are unlikely to have changes introduced into them intentionally, and thus would not ordinarily be relevant to the present discussion. The reason for printing from such type is that impressions from the plates have not yet been produced and advance copies are needed. The production of such copies from the standing type results in several anomalies. If a change is made as the result of an accident, the

first and correct form of the text is in the later impression from the earlier made plates. If a change is made intentionally, the uncorrected form may appear in the later printing (i.e., from the plates). If the copies printed from the type happen to call attention to errors escaped in proofing, then plates may be emended or cancelled even before the first impression has been worked off from them. In this case, the uncorrected text would appear only on the reviewer-copies. Mr. Earle F. Walbridge has kindly supplied me with an example: from a reviewer's galley copy, he himself called the publishers' attention to the fact that Van Wyck Brooks in *The Confident Years* (1952) miscalled Orison Swett Marden "Oliver." The name appeared correctly printed in the first impression from plates.[1]

Another kind of "special edition" in which changes (although generally of a nontextual nature) appear to be likely are those "from type before it is distributed," "on rag paper," "for subscribers only," etc. Where this kind of "special edition" is from type and the trade edition is from plates, it may again be assumed that the type is first used by the electrotyper for his mold, even though the impressions from the type are earlier than the impressions from the electrotyper's plates. Some rearrangement of the type for artistic effect might be assumed to be usual, but if it produces textual differences, the differences are not likely to have textual value and should be referred to the plate impressions.

Standing type in the small nonmetropolitan shop needs no special comment. It is obvious that in a suburban or rural shop which produces a large proportion of job printing and publishes only one or two books a year, the access to stereotype or electrotype facilities might be sufficiently inconvenient, and the holding of standing type so relatively easy, that a second or even a

[1] *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*? No acknowledgment was received from the publishers, who may have detected the error themselves. Or Mr. Brooks may have done so. E.F.W.

third small impression might be cautiously run from the same type. Each of these impressions might have between-press corrections.

(b) The subject of amended or cancelled plates between impressions needs no further elaboration except to repeat that both are extremely common. The textual student need only concern himself with distinguishing between those that result from accidental plate damage and those that are the result of intentional textual change.

After-Press Changes

We come finally to the area of changes in which cancels are necessarily relevant, though there are other ways than by cancellation that after-press changes can be made; namely, the Errata list (printed as part of a late sheet) and the Errata slip. Neither of these can properly be called a cancel when nothing has been cancelled. On the other hand, when there is an effort to remove part of a text, whether to replace it with a correct form or simply to remove it, then a cancel results.

By the same token, an inserted leaf is not properly a cancel unless something is intended to come out when the revision goes in. James Lindsay Gordon's *Ballads of the Sunlit Years* (New York, North American Press, 1904) will serve as an example of the non-cancel insert. The author died "while this volume was going through the press." A leaf with a biographical sketch of the author and some details concerning the production of the volume ("The edition is limited to 990 copies") was separately printed and inserted in front of the half-title.

The 35 x 75 mm. slip reading "Corrigendum Page 76, line 5: *for* card *read* cord" pasted to p. 76 of Hilary Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archive Administration* (London, 1937) is a typical example of the errata slip. This is taken to be a non-cancel form, because while the direction to cancel is there, the erroneous form remains in fact uncancelled.

In a letter to the London *Times Literary Supplement* for October 10, 1952, p. 661, Hugh MacDonald, referring to his book about Andrew Marvell, wrote: "As errata-leaves are practically impossible nowadays, I had to content myself with making manuscript corrections in what copies I could."

Even if "errata-leaves" were "practically impossible" in England, however, a book was to appear in America with an errata slip within a month of MacDonald's letter to the editor: on November 4th, to be exact, Mary Alden Hopkins' *Dr. Johnson's Lichfield* (New York, Hastings House, 1952) carried (even on advance reviewers' copies) a paste-in slip following the list of illustrations, correcting the captions on two of the plates.[2]

An extreme case of peripheral errata slips may be found in reviewers' copies of Denning Miller's *Wind, Storm and Rain, The Story of Weather* (New York, 1952). The book was published by Coward-McCann, but when the printers mailed out the review copies, the insert slip announcing the date of publication, price, etc., was signed G. P. Putnam's Sons. A postcard followed quickly in the wake of the book correcting the error.

An example of the non-cancel form of over-printing is the last sentence of two lines on the bottom of the verso of the title page of *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950).

The forms of the cancel proper in the twentieth century are sufficiently detailed in Part I of this article, and require no further discussion here. It is hoped, however, that others writing in English on twentieth-century cancels will eschew the Latin form of "cancellans" and stick to the plainer English of "cancel."

[2] Since the Acknowledgments page contained still a third error, love's labor was lost. (Tennant—as the captions read—was changed to Pennant, *but* it is spelled Pennent [*sic*] on this page.) *Editor.*

"None Was Worth My Strife": Landor and the Italian Police*

By R. H. Super

WALTER Savage Landor is perhaps best known (since an anecdote is always more memorable than flawless prose or even an epigrammatic gem) as the man who, enraged at some imperfection in a dinner, threw his cook from the dining-room window and then, while Mrs. Landor grew hysterical and the cook writhed in agony in the garden eleven feet below, stopped aghast at his own impetuosity and exclaimed: "Good God! I forgot the violets!" Whether literally true or not, it was a story he delighted in telling about himself.[1] But since an epigram is also memorable, Landor is likewise well known for the quatrain that begins: "I strove with none, for none was worth my strife." Commentators are seldom weary of pointing out the contrast between the deed and the word.

Yet rightly understood, there is little contradiction, though some paradox. With his equals and his friends, Landor seldom quarrelled—not because they were not worth his strife, but because he was the most affectionate of friends and the warmest admirer of those he loved. His quarrel with Wordsworth alone stands out as a notable exception, until senility decayed Landor's mind, and he fretted himself into octogenarian anger against a Bath clergyman named Yescombe and his wife, against John Forster, and against another young friend named Arthur de

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[1] See, for example, J. R. Lowell, "Some Letters of Walter Savage Landor," *Century Magazine*, XXXV (Feb. 1888), 513.

Noé Walker—and all four deserved something of the wrath that fell on them. His quarrel with Wordsworth was the exception—and of course that with Mrs. Landor, from whom he separated. Nevertheless, the ordinary business of daily living was frequently more than Landor could cope with; it required a certain give and take to which Landor would be no party; he declined to be put upon by any public official however high, or by any servant or workman however humble. When, moreover, the business of daily life must be carried on in a foreign tongue, as was necessary while Landor was resident in Italy, the possibilities for misunderstanding and explosion were endless. As one of Landor's friends remarked, perhaps unconscious of the humor, "When I have . . . heard you accused of being a violent man, I have frankly acknowledged it; limiting however your violence to persons guilty of meanness, roguery, or duplicity; by which I meant, and said, that you utterly lost your temper with the Italians."[2]

In the archives of the Tuscan police department (known as the "Buon Governo Comune," whose records are preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Florence), therefore, are many memorials of Landor's strife which have hitherto escaped publication, and many of Landor's most pointed letters, all written in good but curiously anglicized Italian. Even before Landor moved to Florence he was well known to the police of that city. For in August of 1817, while he was escaping with his family from the heat of Pisa by spending the summer in Pistoia, he quarrelled somehow with the Grand-Ducal Commissary there, a Signor Fantoni, and filed a complaint with the President of the Buon Governo—i.e., head of the police—in Florence. The only record of the matter is the letter which Landor wrote when his complaint went unheeded:

[2] John Forster, *Walter Savage Landor* (London, 1869), II, 309. The remark was Charles Brown's.

Signor Presidente del Buon Governo,

Upon the representation of a person who knew nothing of you, I believed that you were honorable and well informed: and from the Constitution of Tuscany I believed that the examination of a complaint against a Royal Commissary was the business of the President of the Buon Governo.

I have demonstrated that the Commissary at Pistoia has violated the laws twenty—but what difference does it make? Signor Fantoni has been a friend of Signor Fossombroni from his earliest youth! If I had been informed on that point, I should not have had the boldness to make a complaint. Instead of a gesture so useless, my cane would have lent assistance to the hobbling laws.

Return to me the Judicial Decree of Signor Fantoni, which I sent you in the month of June. In the happier times that are approaching, it will furnish material for the indictment of one malefactor—and perhaps more than one!

I have the honor to be, etc.
Walter Savage Landor
Gentiluomo Inglese.[3]

Pistoia, 11 August 1819.

Less than two years later, about 9 March 1821, the Florentine bookseller Giuseppe Molini filed a petition with the President of the Buon Governo complaining that Landor was writing him threatening letters from Pisa.[4] The Police Commissary of the Santa Croce district investigated the matter, and learned that Landor had ordered from Molini a copy of a folio edition of Dante published by him. When the bookseller, in sober and conventional business letters, requested Landor to order the

[3] Archivio di Stato, Florence: Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 918 (Anno 1821), No. 834. Everything drawn from these police archives is in Italian; the English translation is my responsibility. Of Fossombroni, Tuscan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Landor remarked to Southey that a viler scoundrel nowhere existed. "I have collected various anecdotes of this fellow, and among the rest his habit of detaining the letters of those foreigners who, from their acquirements or virtues, may reasonably be suspected of the power and inclination to treat him as he deserves." (Forster, *Landor* [1869], I, 479-480.)

[4] *Ibid.*, Filza 922 (Anno 1821), No. 1072. Whatever the settlement of this dispute, there is evidence that Landor continued to purchase books from Molini, and to use him as an agent to whom parcels for Landor might be shipped from London.

book to be picked up at his shop, and begged for a remittance, Landor not only expressed himself with great violence to Molini, but wrote also to the man's relatives. It was the Commissary's opinion that the letters were the product of an extravagant and defective brain, of which a sane man need take no notice, and so he persuaded Molini to forget the business. But the President of the Buon Governo could not view the matter so lightly: Landor had caused trouble in Pistoia, and had written contemptuously against the authorities and the Royal Commissary there. Such a man must be watched: he begged the police at Pisa to keep an eye on this Englishman. Landor saved them the trouble of reporting what they found, by moving to Florence.

It is commonly but erroneously asserted that Landor's first residence there was a Palazzo Medici. Actually, when he moved to that city in the summer of 1821, he took a furnished apartment in the palace of a Count Palatine named Charles de Lootz (or, when he affected to be Italianate, "Lozzi") on the Via della Scala not far from the Church of Santa Maria Novella. He paid a year's rent in advance. For a short time all went well. Landlord and tenant appeared to have a common love of art, and Lozzi sold Landor three valuable paintings by Richard Wilson which had formerly belonged to Sir Horace Mann.[5]

But Lozzi was in fact a rather unsavory character: nearly two years earlier he had been sentenced to exile from Tuscany, and was permitted to return only on the plea of ill health. He was in difficulty with the police over some matters of taxes and property, and they were never sorry to learn anything to his discredit. About ten o'clock one evening in September (the 8th), the Landors were entertaining a young English painter named Trajan Wallis; the two men were walking up and down on a covered terrace that ran along both Landor's and Lozzi's apartments

[5] *Ibid.*, Filza 918 (Anno 1821), No. 834 (for the entire Lozzi affair). For Landor's purchase of the Wilson paintings, see an unpublished letter from Landor to Forster, *ca.* 8 March 1857, in the Library of the University of Chicago.

when the Count suddenly called out of his window that he was a sick man and could not sleep while they persisted in talking there. Landor was furious: he instantly challenged his landlord, and the next day wrote to the Grand Duke's secretary, Prince Rospigliosi, demanding the intervention of His Serene Highness himself. The Prince replied from the Pitti Palace that the matter was not one for the Royal Court, and referred him to the Commissary of Police for the District of Santa Maria Novella. In his turn, the Commissary suggested that Landor present his charge in writing to the President of the Buon Governo. Landor did so:

Signor Presidente,

I have been advised by the Commissary of Police to make Your Excellency acquainted with an offence against the laws and customs committed by a certain Lootz, who calls himself Count Lozzi—a man already sentenced to exile. On Saturday evening from nine to ten, the painter Signor Wallis was paying me a visit. We were speaking of a painting of his, in the presence of my wife, on the terrace, sixty-five paces from the apartment of the said Lootz. According to the terms of my agreement, I have free passage over the whole terrace. A few minutes after ten, this Lootz threw open his window and cried out—"Fine impertinence! to disturb people from slumber at this hour."—He was not asleep—servants were passing in and out—there was a light in his room both then and some time afterward. I stepped forward, demanded apology for the insult, and threatened the punishment he deserved. He said nothing.—In no country in the world, not even in Italy, is a lady to be insulted with impunity; and I doubt whether even Signor Puccini [Lozzi's protector in high places] would do it.

Three doctors a short time back swore that this Lootz was gravely ill. I, during the same period, have seen him running across the terrace like a small boy: during the same period, he pinched the porter's daughter on the thigh and attempted other familiarities, as she told my servant; hardly a sick man! during the same period, this invalid took into his service a young female very well known in the lobbies of the theatres. On Sunday he dared to show himself publicly riding in the Via de' Servi, fresh, lusty, laughing, in perfect confidence that the protection which has hitherto been

so efficacious to him will continue to serve, and that a pretty wife has some value, even to him.

If the man is truly mad, it is time that he was prevented from doing harm. I have a wife, young, frail in health, timid, who has been insulted by him: I have young children who could be poisoned. A man who tried to injure his own uncle out of greed could commit the same crime a second time for vengeance. Under these circumstances, I beg you, Signor Presidente, to do your duty, and not to oblige me to trouble your Prince with personal complaints.—I demand that this convict be placed where he can do no harm to my family—or that the money which I have paid in advance on my lease be restored to me; it being essential to every lease that possession be peaceful, and that condition in my case having been notoriously violated.

I have the honor to be, etc.
Walter Savage Landor.

Palazzo called Lozzi,
Via della Scala
September 11, 1821.

The business was returned to the Commissary, who did his best to restore the peace. Lozzi's defence was quite simply that in the dark, and at a distance, he failed to recognize Landor and supposed the loud conversation was that of servants. He was required to deposit twenty-six zecchines (about ten guineas) as pledge that he would keep the peace, and Landor even seems to have had his way about breaking the lease (which, it will be observed, was the real intent of his fierce letter). When, however, he proclaimed his intention of warning every Englishman who should enter into negotiations with Lozzi that the man was a criminal, and began to carry out his intention with great vigor, he found himself brought before the Commissary on Lozzi's complaint before a fortnight was past. Three times he was summoned before the tribunal, and three times he appeared; when he received a fourth summons, he began to suspect that Lozzi's influential friends were merely using the police to annoy him. Thereup-

on he composed a long dissertation instructing the Commissary in the principles of Justice, and reaffirmed his intention of warning prospective tenants as he would warn a man who attempted to board a plague-ridden ship. "When a man has narrowly escaped from a pirate, it is his duty to warn everyone—but principally his countrymen—in what latitude he met with him"—and there is no law against naming him. Landor concluded that translations of this remonstrance would be circulated "in England, in France, in Spain, in Portugal, and in the most cultured part of Germany, where the character of M. Landor is known and respected as it deserves." Landor described himself as leading a life that was "retired, studious, peaceful, innocent—in the midst of his books and in the bosom of his family." The Commissary could hardly agree: do what he might, he reported to his superiors, this Foreigner was a man of so violent a character that banishment from the Grand Duchy appeared to be the only solution. His superiors showed more forbearance: the case was closed on 16 October with another warning to both Landor and Lozzi.

About the first of November Landor took a lease for three and a half years on apartments in one of the palaces owned by the Marchese de' Medici-Tornaquinci in the Borgo degli Albizi.[6] A few months later there was again excitement. At the instance of a chambermaid named Maria Santi, criminal proceedings were

[6] For the date, see Forster, *Landor* (1869), I, 484, and Landor's letter of 21 May 1823 to Walter Birch: "I have taken my house for three years and a half, of which two are unexpired." (E. H. R. Tatham, "Some Unpublished Letters of W. S. Landor," *Fortnightly Review*, XCIII [Feb. 1910], 371.) The Marchese de' Medici-Tornaquinci owned four houses in the same neighborhood in Florence: two on the south side of the Borgo degli Albizi east of the Loggia degli Albizi; one with its back to these and facing the Via dei Pandolfini (the house at the northeast corner of the intersection of that street and the modern Via delle Seggiole), and the fourth on the south side of the Via dei Pandolfini (Archivio di Stato, Florence: Arroto Descrittivo, Vol. 307 [1832], No. 459). A calling card of Landor's of uncertain date bears the address in his hand, "Casa Medici Tornaquinci | Via degli Albizzi" (British Museum, Add. MS. 18,204, fol. 495; like the letters which make up fols. 329-334 of the same volume, this card was sent to a Mrs. Cockle, an Englishwoman who was visiting Florence).

brought against him (under the title of "Count Walter Savage Landor") for expressing his displeasure with her by means of a shower of boiling water. An open verdict was returned by the court on 25 February 1822, leaving the woman free to sue Landor for damages in civil court. Probably a modest financial settlement was reached; the records do not say. But in the preliminary investigation before the Chancellor of the district, Landor behaved "with a maximum of scorn, insubordination and irreverence, to the point where he had to be called to order."[7]

Toward serving-women there was no chivalry. One morning in March of the following year, Landor was calling on an Englishman described by the police as "Odoardo Bagnes," when he encountered a servant who had formerly been one of his domestics, and in a moment of fury struck her with his cane so as to leave "noticeable bruises" (she said) on her face. A few days later the woman, Giuseppa Paci, presented a memorial to the police demanding action against him for assault. The Tribunal summoned Landor, who replied with five successive letters to the same effect—that the woman had the worst possible character, that she had been discharged by him and forbidden by his wife ever to enter their house again, and that he was surprised to see so notorious a liar and Public Whore in the service of a friend. He confessed that he struck the woman, but did so because she had spoken slanderously to Bagnes about him and his household. The woman was given some compensation, and the district Commissary of Police decided that the affair was too trivial to prosecute.[8]

In 1826 Landor took his family to a villa south of the Arno for the summer, and in the autumn returned to another palace of the Marchese de' Medici-Tornaquinci on the Via dei Pandol-

[7] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858, in the report of the Police Inspector concerning Landor's insult to the police in April, 1829.

[8] *Ibid.*, Filza 1143 (Anno 1823), No. 2422.

fini (back of his former residence); it was probably the fine house now known as No. 16 on that street.[9] He engaged a window cleaner named Bronchelli, quarrelled with him before the job was well under way, and dismissed him. On 1 December he received a notice from the police (who handled small claims) ordering him to pay the window cleaner sixteen lire—more than ten shillings—for his work, or to show cause for disputing the account. The man had polished five windows and two small panes; the sum, Landor protested, was twice what the man had demanded of him, three times what anyone else would have charged him, and nine times what the work was worth—even supposing it to have been completed, as it had not been.

> The whole of it was estimated at *six pauls* by one of the trade [Landor wrote to the District Chancellor on 2 December]. . . . Six pauls were offered to the man and he refused them: at that time he asked eight, and now sixteen! . . . The Commissary will recall that he himself receives only twenty-four lire a day, and will discover that an officer of high rank in the armed forces of the Grand Duchy or of the Emperor is paid somewhat less than what he now orders me to pay a common laborer. The window-cleaner may appeal to the Tribunal if he wishes. After such extraordinarily insolent injustice, I will not pay a single quattrino until he has finished the work which he began.

The next day, Landor wrote to the President of the Buon Governo as a last step, he asserted, before laying the whole matter at the feet of the Sovereign himself:

> Signor Landor does not make this remonstrance because of the money; being able to prove, by means of authentic documents confirmed by the Government itself, that he has presented more than *four thousand times* this sum to the cause of Independence in Spain [in 1808], with no idea of

[9] Our knowledge of Landor's movements depends on two unpublished letters from Charles Brown in Florence to Leigh Hunt in England, dated 29 May and 29 October 1826 (British Museum, Add. MS. 38,109, fols. 29-30, 37-38): "Landor and family are very well,—they live in a villa, beyond Bellosguardo," and "Landor and family are very well,—they have returned into the city, and live in Via Pandolfini." A letter from Landor to the police is dated from Casa Medici, Via Pandolfini, on 2 December 1826.

personal advantage; but he makes it in order to prevent other foreigners from being subjected to the decisions of unjust functionaries, and in order that the laws of Peter Leopold should not be violated in the reign of his worthy successor.

The President spoke a word to the District Commissary, and the matter was somehow compromised.[10]

Whether it is true or not (and perhaps it is not) that Landor left the Casa Medici-Tornaquinci after knocking off the Marchese's hat when the landlord ventured to enter Landor's apartment and Mrs. Landor's presence without removing that article,[11] Landor and his family spent the winter of 1827-28 in several Florentine lodgings before settling in the Palazzo Giugni (now No. 48, Via degli Alfani, known as the Palazzo Fraschetti), an elegant palace with a pleasant garden not far from the Church of Santissima Annunziata, the most magnificent of his city residences, and the last before he purchased his own villa at Fiesole. He lived in the Casa Cremani, at the Croce al Trebbio, only long enough at the end of 1827 to send a carpenter named Giuseppe Panucci screaming to the police that Landor had aimed a furious and vital kick at him for appearing for work ten minutes after eight one morning in December, instead of eight o'clock sharp. Fortunately, said the man, he had been agile enough to avoid the worst consequences of the kick. When Landor paid his bill for the work the man had done, the case was dropped; but Giuseppe said he was tired of Landor's threats, his ill treatment, and his physical violence, and he would never work for him again.[12]

A month or two later, when the police were once more obliged to take cognizance of him, Landor was living in the Casa Castellani in the nearby Via dei Banchi. The quarrel this time was

[10] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 1584 (Anno 1827), No. 627.

[11] Forster, *Landor* (1869), II, 200.

[12] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858, as part of the report of the police investigation into Landor's character.

with a picture-dealer named Natale Ussi, whom Landor frequently patronized, and in whose shop he had once before debated so vigorously with a priest over the merits of a painting that the cleric was mortally offended.[13] One day in Ussi's shop Landor saw a picture which he said had been stolen from himself. He applied to the Commissary of Police in a vain attempt to compel the dealer to give up the picture. Meanwhile, Ussi presented his bill for work he had done for Landor in the past—framing, restoring, etc. The intervention of friends was all that prevented a violent explosion at that point, and some compromise was effected on 19 February, so that Ussi considered himself free of the affair and of a character so *violento e clamoroso* as this Englishman. But Landor did not give up so easily: before long Ussi heard that Landor was denouncing him among all the English as a thief, and that on 22 February Landor approached another art dealer and attempted to persuade him to make an affidavit (Ussi's expression was "false affidavit") with respect to the provenance of the picture. On the night of the 26th, someone posted a notice on the door of Ussi's shop warning the English "not to set foot in this place, because it is the den of a thief," and on the next day Ussi preferred charges against Landor, asserting that the paper was in his handwriting.[14]

The police thereupon set about collecting all the complaints they could find against Landor, with a view to demonstrating that he "was in constant danger of committing some act of violence in the grip of rage, which sometimes made him so furious as to be unable to restrain himself," and should be banished from the Tuscan State. It is difficult to read their report with a straight face. Not only were the cases already mentioned here reported once more, but everyone who had the slightest grudge against Landor—servant, tradesman, laborer—was invited to speak up,

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi (Anno 1828), No. 1337.

and the most trivial incidents were noted. Those who could not conscientiously allege any overt act could at least say that they were in constant fear of bodily harm from Landor; some of the asseverations were palpably false, and none, of course, were proved: the police were not much concerned with authenticity. By an oversight, they omitted the case of Maria Santi and the boiling water, but added it in a supplementary report three days after the original, on 8 March. Then suddenly the matter was dropped, with the warning to Landor that he would be expelled from Tuscany if ever again he brought frivolous charges before the police. "But you yourself," he wrote to the Commissary a year later, "proved that this charge was far from frivolous"—and so, apparently, he had. To be sure, Landor did not recover the picture, and his disrespectful conduct on this occasion remained against him for use when another such report might be needed.

New occasion came about a year later. On 14 April 1829, the Lieutenant of Police on duty at the district headquarters of Santa Croce made the following report to his superiors:

> At seven o'clock this morning there presented himself before the Police a certain Signor Walter Savage Landor, an English Gentleman who has resided in Florence about ten years and at present lodges in the Palazzo di Giugni in the Via degli Alfani, and speaking with the Lieutenant on duty, Angiolo Chiarini, in the presence of Constable Francesco Cappelletti, he declared that in the preceding night he had been robbed of seventeen pieces of silver plate which had been placed in a basket after dinner last night and left in a drawing-room in his lodgings.
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> After Signor Walter concluded his declaration, he deviated from the matter at hand, and adopting a sarcastic tone he put forward the following words: "I come to report this theft, not with a view to recovering my silver, because I am quite certain that the Police will do nothing about the matter, it being their policy when thefts are committed against Foreigners to act so as to protect the thieves; seven or eight English families have been robbed—among others my friend Captain Guyon—and in no case has the thief been discovered or the stolen articles restored; I speak in this

manner because I am not afraid of anyone. In Tuscany there is no such thing as Justice: I am in a position to know because in affairs of this sort I have always been treated unjustly, and most notoriously in the case of a painting of mine given to a certain Ussi; as I was unable to prove the consignment, the case was decided to my prejudice. From the former President of the Buon Governo I never had justice, nor have I had it from the present President, either in this capacity or when formerly he was justice in the Criminal Court."[15]

As we shall see, the concluding remarks were more pointed than Landor admitted to; but in any case, on 15 April an order came down from the President of the Buon Governo that Landor must leave the territory of the Grand Duchy within three days, or suffer incarceration, on account of his irregular behavior and the arrogance manifested on more than one occasion. (The "Captain Guyon," by the way, was father of the young officer who later became famous as a general in the service of the Sultan. His loss in Florence on 7 May 1828 was a portfolio of gold rings, gold seals, etc.)

As Landor himself told the story in a letter to Southey, he replied to this order, "Tell the President I shall neither be out of Tuscany nor out of Florence in three days; and let him use force if he dares; I will repell it." Then he instantly wrote to the Grand Duke, "showing him the passion and absurdity of this order"[16] (the letter, not being addressed to the police, is not to be found in their files; Landor published a translation):[17]

Highness! I am by the direction of my studies, unable to write a *Supplication*, and, were I able, I would rather die. I ask for justice; and under the son of Ferdinand, and the grandson of Peter Leopold, I am sure to find it. I have lived eleven years in Tuscany; in Tuscany my children were born; and from Tuscany I am to be expelled by an order of the President of the Buon Governo. . . . To leave Tuscany in three days; dur-

[15] *Ibid.*, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858.

[16] Forster, *Landor* (1869), II, 219.

[17] Landor, *Complete Works*, ed. T. E. Welby, vol. XI: *High and Low Life in Italy* (London, 1930), 87-90.

ing which time examinations are being made of the suspected [in the matter of the theft], and my presence is requisite to convict or to acquit them. . . .

Be it so: I have then all the furniture of twenty-two rooms, many pictures, some marble busts, some ancient and valuable books, and others given me as marks of esteem and respect by the first literary characters of the age. These are not to be packed up in three days, nor the cases made for them; and without my presence, the more valuable part of them would be ruined. . . .

If I am to leave Tuscany in three days I must go without my linen, which is sent away about once in the fortnight, and which is washed four or five miles off: and I know neither the name of the place nor of the laundress. This indeed would appear a *paultry consideration* to the President of the Buon Governo, who probably has little to do with washing, little knowledge or conception of the quantity sent for that purpose in a fortnight by a numerous English family, and little care or concern that an industrious and indigent woman brings it back to a deserted house, and loses the fruits of her labor. Surely such expedition as the President's can only be necessary in cases of conspiracy, or turbulence. Now, Highness! I take no interest whatever in the affairs of Italians: I visit none of them: I admit none of them within my doors: I never go to the gaminghouse, to the coffeehouse, to the theatre, to the palace, or to the church: where then and with whom am I likely to be guilty of conspiracy and treason? . . .

Sir! I leave Tuscany, but not in three days. The health of my wife (Doctor Cassini can inform you) and my own honor, equally but not more dear to me, will detain me somewhat longer. I go, carrying with me the consolatory idea that I never have violated the laws; that I have spoken of the Prince with respect, and written of his father as he himself must often have thought and perhaps may write hereafter.

Nevertheless, Landor thought it prudent to request an extension of time from the President of the Buon Governo himself. Deprecating the "somewhat exaggerated report" which he was sure had been given to that gentleman, he informed him on 17 April that if he "had not been asked the reason 'Why I had little hope of recovering my silver,' I should not have spoken of Your Most Illustrious Excellency in terms which could have been displeasing to him." "The state of my wife's health will not permit

me to leave Tuscany within three days. Therefore, as father of a family, I hope, with full confidence in the mild spirit of the Government, there will be some deferment of the order to depart." He was granted another three days.[18]

Meanwhile Charles Wentworth Dilke, who was visiting Florence, pointed out in conversation with Landor that his accusation against the President was incorrect. By Dilke's account, Landor stared and said, "I suppose the President was in the right. . . . Then I am bound, as a gentleman, to write and beg his pardon."[19] The actual apology was addressed to the Commissary of Police of Santa Croce district and forwarded by him to the President:

18 April 1829

Most Illustrious Signor Commissary,

This morning I have learned that the threat that I "would be expelled from Tuscany if I brought any further frivolous charges" (when you yourself proved that the ones I brought, in the Ussi affair, were not frivolous) was not directed against me by the present President.

Being a foreigner, I have not been in a position to know of the changes in the Officials of State in Tuscany; and therefore I expressed myself with undeserved ardor and exacerbation (which had no need of being exaggerated in the telling) against the Most Respectable Personage who at present exercises the functions of the President.

Therefore, without any advice or discussion with my friends, as a gentleman, I beg pardon for the offence. And the only hesitation I have about the matter is merely in the idea that this step will be considered as taken merely with a view to averting or alleviating a sentence (in other circumstances) only too just.[20]

Meanwhile Landor's friends interceded with Prince Neri Corsini, who as the Grand Duke's Secretary of State was the President's superior; and though Landor's friends reported that they found in the Prince only the most intense and implacable hatred (as well they might, after the stories of Corsini which Landor

[18] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858.

[19] C. W. Dilke, *Papers of a Critic* (London, 1875), I, 19-20.

[20] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858.

had published in the *Imaginary Conversations*),[21] the Prince intervened on 20 April to obtain a further postponement of the sentence on "the Englishman called Walter Sauvage." The President granted eight days more. About the same time, the Inspector of Police again set out to collect all the accusations he could muster against Landor. The English in Florence, ignorant of the postponement, watched with growing tenseness as each day passed and Landor did not depart. The President begged Corsini to grant no further extension, and Corsini replied (several days after Landor had left Florence on 28 April, as it happened) that though the documents sent him by the police had convinced him of Landor's arbitrary character and irreverence toward authority, and that therefore he confirmed the sentence of banishment, there was no hurry about the matter—a few days more might still be granted; and the President informed the District Commissary that another ten or twelve days would be positively the last extension.[22]

Landor passed his exile at the Baths of Lucca. The Grand Duke is said to have remarked to his Council of Ministers that the whole misunderstanding might well have been avoided, and that since (by this time) Landor had complied with the order of banishment, he might return whenever he chose. He applied for leave to return for a few days on business, and was informed that while a passport could not be given him, instructions would be given at the frontiers to admit him, and he would be allowed to remain indefinitely in Tuscany if he wished to do so. Back he came on 7 June.[23]

Of these unofficial orders there is no record in the police files. Nevertheless, all must be made regular, even though Landor

[21] Landor, *Works*, ed. Welby, XI, 90; Forster, *Landor* (1869), II, 220.

[22] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858.

[23] Forster, *Landor* (1869), II, 220; H. C. Robinson, *On Books and Their Writers*, ed. E. J. Morley (London, 1938), I, 383; A. Morrison, *Collection of Autograph Letters: The Blessington Papers* (London, 1895), p. 98.

was already in Florence again. A formal petition was engrossed, therefore, and submitted by Mrs. Landor to the Grand Duke: "A wife distraught and afflicted makes this supplication: four tender and innocent Children pray and implore the recall to Florence of their respective Husband and Father." A less formal appeal went to the President of the Buon Governo in Julia Landor's own hand—the only specimen of her handwriting now known to have survived:

Most Illustrious Signore Cavaliere Presidente

I pray Your Excellency to grant me the recall of my Husband who, finding himself rather indisposed, desired to be permitted to return to Florence, repeatedly my Husband has begged me to ask grace for him. Trusting in the complacency of Your Excellency I sign myself

Your most devoted but obedient
Julia Landor.

There were the usual communications between officials. The Commissary at Santa Croce, when consulted for his opinion, praised highly Landor's accomplishments, his literary and philosophical knowledge and culture, and cited Landor's letter of apology; after many flourishes, he urged Landor's recall. On 19 June Prince Corsini signed a formal order granting the permission to return.[24]

Meanwhile, one man in the case was nearly forgotten by everyone: the coachman Giovanni Morini, whom Landor suspected of the theft of silver. On the morning of 14 April, learning that Landor accused him, he presented himself at the Palazzo Giugni and, not finding the master at home, announced to the servants that he would like to meet Landor—that he would murder him for making such an accusation. At the preliminary examination into the burglary, Landor repeated his charges and requested the police to protect him against the threatened consequences. Morini, therefore, was locked up on a charge of using menacing language; but the testimony of the other servants that

[24] Buon Governo Comune, Negozi, Filza 110 (Anno 1829), No. 858.

he had been unduly excited, and had not meant his threats literally, induced the police to release him after several days, without prosecution, conceiving that he had been amply punished by that confinement for his hasty tongue.[25]

On 24 August 1829, with the help of a rich friend named Joseph Ablett, Landor purchased the Villa Gherardesca at San Domenico di Fiesole, paying its owner, Giovacchino Gattai, 8600 *scudi fiorentini* for a property which Gattai had bought less than three years earlier from the Count Gherardesca for 6400 *scudi*.[26] It will not be supposed that the acquisition of property in any way eased Landor's difficulties with his neighbors, his servants, or the police. He himself has told, in the Imaginary Conversation between the Cardinal Legate and the picture dealers, a part of the story of his quarrel with the inhabitant of a neighboring cottage, a M. Joseph Antoir, "formerly a vendor of prints and sea-shells, now [secretary and] *attaché* to the French Legation," who claimed that Landor's extensive irrigation of his plantations was stopping the flow of a watercourse which passed from his estate to Antoir's, and on which Antoir depended.[27] The case was in and out of the courts for a dozen years, and was finally settled in 1842 at a cost to Landor of between two and three hundred pounds;[28] and Signora Giuliana Artom has recently pointed out in the *Times Literary Supplement* (December 28, 1951) the echoes

[25] *Ibid.*, Filza 113 (Anno 1829), No. 995.

[26] Archivio di Stato, Florence: Comune di Fiesole, Arroto di Volture, Vol. 576 (Anno 1826), No. 55, and Vol. 579 (Anno 1829), No. 35. (For a list of new buildings which Landor immediately constructed, see Vol. 580 [Anno 1830], No. 173.) Landor told his sisters that the purchase price was "about two thousand pounds,"—a reasonably accurate equivalent of what he actually paid (Forster, *Landor* [1869], II, 231). The entire estate was transferred to Landor's son Arnold on 15 June 1839, shortly after the young man became of age and four years after Landor separated from his wife and family (Arroto di Volture [Anno 1839], No. 44).

[27] Landor, *Works*, ed. Welby, XI, 87 and III, 250-252; Forster, *Landor* (1869), II, 236-237.

[28] Malcolm Elwin, *Savage Landor* (New York, 1941), p. 255, based on an unpublished letter of 27 June 1842 from Landor's attorney Walter Landor of Rugeley to Landor's brother Henry.

of this dispute still to be found in the police files—rightly seeing in this quarrel the basis for that between Boythorn and Sir Leicester Dedlock in Dickens' *Bleak House*.[29]

Like many another poet, and perhaps many a man with no such claim to preserve his name from obscurity, Landor merely needed someone to smooth for him his relations with workingmen, servants, shopkeepers, business people, publishers, neighbors, tenants, landlords, headmasters and college heads, public officers—in short, with that entire array of people whom one does not know as friends, but with whom one must perpetually have dealings; who are sometimes incompetent, sometimes lazy, sometimes indifferent, and usually prevented by circumstances from explaining themselves articulately when difficulties arise. In the story of Landor's life there are many good friends and relatives who intervened between him and this large category of strangers; with such friends there was seldom strife, but strife was hardly to be avoided when the friends were not there to intervene.

Another word might be added as postscript. Very many English literary men spent part of their lives—often the most important part—in Italy, and may be assumed to have left their mark on the public records and their correspondence where it might find its way into Italian libraries and archives.[30] In general these archives are well preserved and easy to use, and the courtesy and helpfulness of their curators and officers would have mollified

[29] The Buon Governo was twice appealed to in matters arising from this quarrel (Negozi, Filza 2059 [Anno 1830], No. 2050; Filza 152 [Anno 1834], No. 808). The printed brief of Landor's appeal to the Tuscan Supreme Court in the lawsuit with Antoir (1841) was sold in the Browning Sale at Sotheby's on 2 May 1913 (Item 241); cf. Sidney Colvin, *Landor* (London, 1881), p. 138n. On another occasion, 31 December 1832, Landor secured the personal intervention of his friend the British Minister with the President of the Buon Governo to set right some affront committed by a countryman (Filza 2457 [Anno 1833], No. 199).

[30] One other source of information about Landor among the Florentine archives may be mentioned, though it is not related to the subject of this paper: the Archivio Notarile contains his will, filed 5 November 1864 (Anno 1864, No. 76), and a codicil filed 4 January 1872 (Anno 1872, No. 11).

even a Landor (who always spoke highly of the Florentine libraries).* These are sources of English literary history which deserve far more attention than they have hitherto received.

* It is a pleasure to acknowledge here by name the assistance of Sr. Dott. Guido Pampaloni of the Archivio di Stato in Florence, Avv. Bruto Valerio Console and Signora Giuliana Artom, as well as my colleague Professor John Arthos.

Sherlock Holmes: Rare-Book Collector

A Study in Book Detection

By MADELEINE B. STERN

SHERLOCK Holmes was as canny and secretive in his book collecting practices as in his methods of detection. Hence, though much has been written about the Baker Street library,[1] the real treasures of 221B have remained concealed until now. Everyone is aware of the nature of Holmes's reference books; he made no attempt to cover up the occupational shelf that contained his copy of *Crockford*,[2] his *Continental Gazetteer*[3] or his set of *Whitaker's Almanack*.[4] The maps of London,[5] the ordnance map of the Devonshire moor[6] that Stanford's provided, the London telephone directory,[7] the Debrett[8] are all

[1] Notably, the chapter, "Ex Libris, Sherlock Holmes," in Edgar W. Smith, ed., *Profile by Gaslight* (New York, 1944), and Julian Wolff, "A Catalogue of 221B Culture," in *To Doctor R.; Essays ... in honor of ... Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach* (Philadelphia, 1946).

[2] *Crockford's Clerical Directory* was on Holmes's shelf by 1898, when he took the name of J. C. Elman from it in connection with the *Adventure of the Retired Colourman.*

[3] Holmes used a *Continental Gazetteer*—probably *The Gazetteer of the World* (London, 1885, and in progress)—in 1887, when he checked the Andaman Islands in connection with *The Sign of the Four*, and again in 1889 when he looked up Egria, Bohemia, for *A Scandal in Bohemia.*

[4] *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1899 and 1900 were in Holmes's possession and provided him with the key to Porlock's cipher in *The Valley of Fear* in 1900.

[5] Holmes spread out his big map of London in 1895 in connection with *The Bruce-Partington Plans.*

[6] Holmes sent down to Stamford's [i.e., Stanford's—see note 12] in 1899 for the ordnance map of the Devonshire moor, used in the case of *The Hound of the Baskervilles.*

[7] In the 1902 London telephone directory Watson was able to locate N. Garrideb on Little Ryder Street. See *The Adventure of the Three Garridebs.*

[8] The "red-covered volume" which in 1887 provided Holmes with genealogical information about Lord Robert Walsingham de Vere St. Simon, in *The Adventure*

common knowledge. Holmes needed those books and placed them openly on his shelves or beside the mantelpiece, where any visitor, in however agitated a state, could observe them, and where Watson, if he wished, could browse freely.

Even from Watson, however, Holmes successfully concealed the nature and extent of his bibliographical rarities. On one occasion only—and then in a moment of unguarded enthusiasm to which even the shrewdest collectors are subject—did he reveal the qualities of one of his most precious "finds." Even then he concealed his excitement with an offhand phrase: "This is a queer old book I picked up at a stall yesterday—*De Jure inter Gentes*—published in Latin at Liége in the Lowlands, in 1642."[9] "A queer old book" indeed! Actually, one of the most extraordinary volumes in the Holmes treasure room; a book unique both for its contents and its imprint. The *De Jure inter Gentes*, though published anonymously, was really written by Richard Zouche (1590-1661), the English civilian. Prior to Holmes's "find," the first edition was thought to have been printed at Oxford in 1650 under the title: *Juris et Judicii fecialis, sive Juris inter gentes*, and it was the second part of the title that suggested to Bentham the felicitous phrase, "international law." The anonymous edition, bearing the title *De Jure inter Gentes*, is rare enough when it carries the Leyden 1651 imprint. But Holmes's copy antedates even the so-called first edition of 1650, and hence is a find of extraordinary magnitude, one of the most desirable books in any legal collection. Holmes, of course, was aware of it, when he emphasized the early date of the Zouche by remarking to Watson, "Charles's head was still firm on his shoulders when this little brown-backed volume was struck off." His copy was further en-

of the Noble Bachelor, was obviously a Debrett. Another of Holmes's reference books was his so-called *American Encyclopaedia*, used in *The Five Orange Pips* in 1888 when Holmes checked it for the Ku Klux Klan. *The International Cyclopedia* (New York, 1885), which contains an article on the Klan, was possibly the work in question.

[9] See *A Study in Scarlet*.

hanced by an interesting provenance. "On the flyleaf," Holmes pursued, "in very faded ink, is written 'Ex libris Guliolmi Whyte.' . . . Some pragmatical seventeenth century lawyer, I suppose." As if he did not know that the copy had belonged to the English divine, William White (1604-78), who had fathered several interesting Latin works under the pseudonym of "Gulielmus Phalerius." Holmes had indeed made a remarkable find that March day in 1881, when he returned from his wanderings among the stalls of Ludgate Hill with a treasure fit to stand beside the first edition of Grotius. In a way, the 1642 Zouche is, because of its remarkable date, an even more interesting volume. Indeed, had Thomas James Wise evinced any interest in international law in the year 1881, one might almost be ready to accuse him of perpetrating the work in question. But such a thought is unworthy. Holmes had tucked a fine treasure under his arm, and had it not been for his unusual powers of self-discipline, he surely could not have laid the Zouche aside to turn to the problems of the Brixton Road affair which Watson subsequently immortalized as *A Study in Scarlet*.

Holmes never again referred, beyond a title or two, to any of his notable finds. Observing that Watson was bent upon publicizing his successes in detection, he kept from his Boswell any clue that might reappear in the popular case-histories and bring to his doorstep a rival collector or a predatory bookseller. He had said more than he should have about the Zouche. Henceforth his lips were sealed. He would find his treasures and enjoy them in solitude. Bibliographically, he would walk alone. He might drop a word about an author in his possession, but he was done with revealing imprints to Watson. Only a determined literary sleuth would be able to detect the true nature of the rarities that gradually found their place on the secret shelves of 221B. For it is certainly not too much to assume that the man who captured the 1642 Zouche continued to add treasures of equal stature to his collection. From the few brief hints that he dropped, it is possi-

ble, even at this late day, to follow him on his bibliophilic meanderings and to describe in detail the prizes he carried away. Nearly every aspect of the great detector has been detected. Let us detect now the secret hoard of rare books to which he turned when, weary of his test tubes and his violin, the great man sat alone in Baker Street.

There are eight fine books plus a small collection of works on one subject that can be assigned without question to the Holmes bookshelf. Although there is no doubt that it was a first edition, Holmes made no secret of his possession of William Winwood Reade's *The Martyrdom of Man.* In 1887,[10] in the course of his investigation of *The Sign of the Four,* he handed the volume to Watson, recommending it as "one of the most remarkable ever penned," and later, during the same investigation, he returned to a discussion of the book, citing the author's views on individual and aggregate man. Reade, a traveller, novelist and controversialist, as well as a nephew of Charles Reade, had expressed his atheistical opinions in his *Martyrdom of Man,* and the book became so popular that by 1884 it had reached an eighth edition. Knowing, as we do, that Holmes had in 1881 discovered the unique pre-first of Zouche, we cannot doubt that he owned anything but a copy of the 1872 first edition of Reade. He was not loath to share the book with Watson simply because, though it was a first, it was not a rarity in 1887.

The same situation holds true of Holmes's copy of the Rev. John George Wood's *Out of Doors.* While engaged in his solution of *The Lion's Mane* in 1907, he admitted openly that the garret of his little house in Sussex was "stuffed with books," and, having rummaged through that minor storehouse, he emerged with a copy of the volume that revealed the nature of the deadly *Cyanea capillata* which had killed Fitzroy McPherson. Again,

[10] For this and all other dates referred to, I am indebted to Gavin Brend, *My Dear Holmes* (New York, Macmillan, 1951), whose Chronological Table, pp. 179-181, has been followed.

there is no question that Holmes's copy of *Out of Doors* was a first of 1874 rather than one of the later editions of the work by the popular nineteenth-century English naturalist. Like the Reade *Martyrdom of Man*, the book was not sufficiently scarce to warrant any secrecy, though there is no doubt that it was a first edition. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe that Wood was also the author of *Bees, Their Habits and Management*, a subject to which Holmes gave no little attention between 1904 and 1912.

By 1889, Holmes had in his possession a volume which he modestly referred to as his "pocket Petrarch." It will be recalled that, on the train to Ross near Boscombe Valley, when in 1889 he was unraveling *The Boscombe Valley Mystery*, he remarked to Watson, "And now here is my pocket Petrarch, and not another word shall I say of this case until we are on the scene of action." While it may excite some wonder that Holmes should have carried with him so delightful a little rarity, there can be no question that the volume to which he referred was none other than the charming *Il Petrarca* printed in italic letter at Lyons in 1550, ruled in red, and adorned with the delicate heart-shaped woodcut medallion showing portraits of Petrarch and Laura by Bernard Salomon. Any doubts about the identity of the edition must be stilled when we recall that in 1881 Holmes had discovered that really unobtainable Zouche. After such a find he could have been satisfied with no other "pocket Petrarch."

We come now to one of the most interesting book references ever made by Holmes. In 1894, while engaged in *The Adventure of the Empty House*, the great detector, it will be remembered, disguised himself as an elderly book dealer. Watson, who "struck against" him and knocked down several of the books he was carrying, thought him "some poor bibliophile, who, either as a trade or as a hobby, was a collector of obscure volumes." As Watson picked up the books, he noticed that the title of one was *The Origin of Tree Worship*. Subsequently, Holmes, still in his disguise,

appeared in Watson's study and mentioned three more titles that he was carrying: *British Birds, Catullus,* and *The Holy War*. Before doffing his disguise he remarked that he ran a little bookshop at the corner of Church Street, Kensington.

The question first to be considered is whether Holmes had just selected those books at random from a Church Street bookshop, or whether they had been in his possession previously. Since Holmes had last seen Watson, he had extricated himself from the Reichenbach Fall and traveled for two years in Tibet. Upon his return to London, he had gone immediately to Baker Street, finding that his brother Mycroft had preserved his rooms and papers exactly as they had always been. It is clear, then, that Holmes had taken the four volumes in question from his own shelves rather than from those of a Church Street bookseller before assuming his disguise. The disguise itself is elucidating, however, for Holmes undoubtedly identified himself with the bookseller who had, at some time prior to 1894, supplied him not only with those volumes, but with several others. The dealer was none other than Alfred B. Clementson, who plied his trade at 73 Church Street, Kensington, W.[11] Just as we know that Holmes obtained his maps from Edward Stanford of Cockspur Street,[12] we can now assure ourselves that he had found several of his more treasured items at Clementson's.

The identification of the four named volumes is less important actually than the identification of the bookseller by appointment to His Majesty, Sherlock Holmes. However, to complete the record, there can be little question that the books which Holmes offered (so safely, it may be added) to his friend Watson included the first Aldine Catullus: *Catullus. Tibullus. Propertius,* printed in italic letter by Aldus at Venice in 1502, with the title page in the first state, reading Propetius for Propertius—a rare

[11] See *London Post-Office Directory* for 1890.

[12] See *ibid.*, where Stanford is listed as "sole agent for ordnance and geological survey maps in England and Wales."

edition though not, under the circumstances, of course, an incunable. The *British Birds* which Holmes, in the disguise that he planned to drop shortly, could offer with impunity as a bargain, was not a minor nineteenth-century work, but the fine *History of British Birds* with the Bewick wood engravings printed in two volumes at Newcastle in 1797 and 1804. *The Holy War* was obviously a copy of the 1639 first edition of Thomas Fuller's *History of the Holy Warre*, and not one of the numerous reprints of that popular work on the Crusades. Knowing Watson's desire to interest the British public in the exploits of his friend, even occasionally at the expense of accuracy, we may safely assume that what he called *The Origin of Tree Worship* was actually *Der Baumkultus* written by Boetticher in 1856, a title which Watson, for the sake of his English public, translated a bit too freely.

There is little doubt that the Alfred B. Clementson of Church Street, Kensington, who had originally supplied Holmes with those volumes, also sent him a most interesting selection of books while the detector was resting at Poldhu Bay in 1897. During the spring of that year, Holmes, at the advice of the Harley Street physician, Dr. Moore Agar, had gone to a small cottage near Poldhu Bay to rest. While there he naturally became interested in the ancient Cornish language, and had received a "consignment of books upon philology" which he was studying when the problem of "The Cornish Horror" interrupted his researches. It was Holmes's thesis that ancient Cornish was allied to Chaldean and had been "largely derived from the Phoenician traders in tin"—a theory that could be developed only by a study of the philological works which he ordered from Clementson. Among them was surely to be found a copy of Lhuyd's *Archaeologica Britannica* of 1707, a work containing a grammar of the language. There also must have been included in that intriguing "consignment of books" Edward Norris's *Ancient Cornish Drama* printed in Penzance in 1859, to which a "Sketch of Cornish Grammar" is added as an appendix. Nor would the collection

have been complete without Jago's *Dialect of Cornwall* printed at Truro in 1882, Williams' *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* (Landovery, 1865), Bannister's *Glossary of Cornish Names* (Truro, 1871) and the Courtney and Couch *Glossary of Words in Use in Cornwall* (Penzance, 1880). With these works at hand, Holmes not only could pride himself upon an extremely interesting group of Cornish imprints, but could work with diligence upon the monolith inscriptions, the Cymric division of Celtic, and the Brythonic dialect that engrossed his attention. It was with the aid of these books that he was attempting to ally cuneiform and monolith inscriptions, and there is little doubt that he would, in time, have arrived at the conclusion that "Chaldee" was a misnomer for a dialect that was really the language of the Southwestern Aramaeans, had not *The Adventure of the Devil's Foot* taken his mind from the mysteries of Cornish philology to the mystery of the Cornish horror. Indeed, had it not been for the intervention of the Tregennis family, it is clear enough that Holmes would have produced one of the most remarkable treatises on comparative philology, a treatise linking the fragments of Gnostic hymns with ancient Cornish inscriptions. While we must regret that his work is lost to the world, we find contentment in being able to reconstruct with so great a degree of accuracy the philological bookshelf that eventually found its way to Baker Street.

The final work which can be definitely given a Holmes *ex libris* is the "small tract, embellished with a rude engraving of the ancient Manor House" of what Watson called "Birlstone," purchased by the great detector in 1900 for one penny from the local tobacconist. The interesting ephemeron which proved of such aid in connection with *The Valley of Fear* was, of course, a tract on the manor house, not at Birlstone, but, as has been pointed out,[13] at Brambletye, Sussex. It is entitled *Particulars of an important freehold & small part copyhold estate* and consists of nine

[13] By H. W. Bell, in Edgar W. Smith, ed., *Profile by Gaslight* (New York, 1944), p. 288.

pages of text with a plan. Printed in London in 1843, it was offered for sale by a tobacconist who in 1900 saw no interest in it and was glad to exchange any of his remaining copies for a penny. Holmes knew its worth, not only in connection with the so-called "Tragedy of Birlstone," but as a fascinating ephemeron fit to join the many rarities already on his shelves.

Law, philosophy, literature, natural history, philology—all are represented by the rare books or first editions definitely known to have belonged to Holmes. For him, no overspecialized collecting. All knowledge was grist to his mill. Had he not declared that "a man should keep his little brain-attic stocked with all the furniture that he is likely to use, and the rest he can put away in the lumber-room of his library, where he can get it if he wants it"?[14] We may be sure that the lumber-room of Holmes's library contained some of the finest furniture, and that when he buried himself among his "old books" they were not only old but rare. The man who detected the 1642 Zouche would have been happy in no other company.

Thus far there is no doubt at all regarding the titles in the Holmes collection. Concerning the following group, however, there is some slight question as to Holmes's ownership. All that can be said with definiteness is that they were *probably* in his possession. The doubt arises because Holmes—like many other wary collectors—mentioned the works but never exhibited or produced them. In all likelihood they were his, and the little element of questionableness simply heightens the desire to make sure.

Who can doubt, for example, that, while Holmes would never have endured a Gaboriau on his shelves ("Lecoq was a miserable bungler. . . . That book made me positively ill."[15]) he must have admitted Poe to his library? Although in 1881, at the time of *A Study in Scarlet,* he considered Dupin "a very inferior fel-

[14] *The Five Orange Pips.*

[15] *A Study in Scarlet.*

low," he returned to a discussion of that character six years later when he was investigating the problem of *The Cardboard Box,* stating to Watson, "Some little time ago, . . . I read you the passage in one of Poe's sketches, in which a close reasoner follows the unspoken thoughts of his companion."[16] It may therefore be assumed that, either prior to 1881, or, more probably, between 1881 and 1887, Holmes acquired a copy of the New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1845 edition of Poe's *Tales,* including both "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," which contained the passage in question, and "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt."

In that same year of 1887, Holmes, engaged in the case of *The Sign of the Four,* twice quoted from Goethe in the original German, and offered a brief but brilliant analysis of Richter, referring to the latter's conception that "man's real greatness lies in his perception of his own smallness." Is it not permissible to conclude that a set of Goethe's *Poetische und prosaische Werke* (Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1836-37) stood side by side with Jean Paul's *Herbst-Blumine* (Tübingen, 1810-20) on the Holmes bookshelf?[17]

In that fruitful year of 1887, but during his work on *The Adventure of the Noble Bachelor,* Holmes took occasion to cite Thoreau's remark on circumstantial evidence, which is very strong, "as when you find a trout in the milk"—a clear enough sign that he may have owned a copy of Thoreau's *Miscellanies* (Boston, 1863), to which Emerson had added a biographical sketch including sentences from the unpublished writings. Among the sentences was, of course, the remark on circumstantial evidence, actually taken from the as yet unpublished Journals of Thoreau.

Two years later, in 1889, Holmes referred to four other authors in a manner suggesting that their works may have adorned his shelves. Having concluded *A Case of Identity,* he quoted to Watson the old Persian saying, " 'There is danger for him

[16] See also *The Resident Patient.*

[17] For another Richter work probably in Holmes's library, see note 21.

who taketh the tiger cub, and danger also for whoso snatches a delusion from a woman,'" remarking at the same time, "There is as much sense in Hafiz as in Horace." Since the *Diwán* of the Persian poet, Hafiz, was not translated in its entirety into English prose until 1891, we must assume that Holmes's copy was either of the 1800 Hindley edition of the *Persian Lyrics*, printed in Persian and English with verse and prose paraphrases and a catalogue of the Gazels, or of the fine 1875 edition containing a verse rendering of the principal poems by Bicknell. Nor is it too much to assume that a copy of Horace—doubtless, because of Holmes's interest in printing types, the Parma 1791 edition published by Bodoni—also graced the detector's library.

During the affair of *Boscombe Valley* in the same year, wishing to discontinue a discussion of James McCarthy's innocence, Holmes suggested, "And now let us talk about George Meredith, if you please, and we shall leave all minor matters until tomorrow." Having concluded the case, he quoted Baxter with "'There, but for the grace of God, goes Sherlock Holmes.'" May we not infer that Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, in the three-volume 1859 first edition,[18] as well as Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest* in the 1650 first edition were among the choice items in the Holmes treasure room?

While there may be some doubting Thomases who will scoff at the suggestion, it seems clear that Holmes, some time between 1888 and 1900, acquired a fine Bible. It has been pointed out that in 1888, having concluded the problem of *The Crooked Man*, Holmes admitted that his Biblical knowledge was "a trifle rusty," though he thought that the "small affair of Uriah and Bathsheba" could be found "in the first or second of Samuel." By 1900, Holmes could surely have checked the reference, finding it in the "second of Samuel." In that year, when, in connection

[18] Arthur Conan Doyle, a minor contemporary of Holmes, was also attracted by Meredith, remarking that his "beloved 'Richard Feverel' . . . lurks in yonder corner. What a great book it is, how wise and how witty!" *Through the Magic Door* (New York, 1908), p. 158.

with *The Valley of Fear,* he was confronted with the problem of deciphering Porlock's coded message which had been based upon a book, Watson mentioned the volumes which Porlock imagined would be in Holmes's possession. Among them was a Bible. Holmes's reply was noncommittal: "Good, Watson, good! But not, if I may say so, quite good enough! Even if I accepted the compliment for myself, I could hardly name any volume which would be less likely to lie at the elbow of one of Moriarty's associates. Besides, the editions of Holy Writ are so numerous that he could hardly suppose that two copies would have the same pagination." Surely Holmes could have "accepted the compliment for himself." Porlock knew a thing or two about Holmes, although it was natural enough that Holmes did not wish to air one of his most treasured possessions to his frank and open Boswell. Surely, between 1888 and 1900, Holmes had obtained a copy of the Bible—not of any inferior edition, either, but (aware as we are of his philological interests and his preoccupation with "Chaldee") of none other than the celebrated Complutensian Polyglot Bible edited under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes between 1514 and 1517, and printed in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin—the earliest, indeed, of the great Polyglots. Yes, Holmes had probably acquired a treasure fit to stand beside the incomparable Zouche, a treasure which would not only have proved of no aid in deciphering Porlock's message, but which he was naturally reluctant to reveal to Watson.

The final "probability" among Holmes's fine books may have been welcomed to his shelves by 1890, when, at the successful termination of the adventure of *The Red-Headed League,* he misquoted Flaubert's words to George Sand, "'*L'homme c'est rien—l'oeuvre c'est tout,*'" and thus implied that he had purchased a copy of the 1884 Paris edition of Flaubert's *Lettres . . . à George Sand* with the introductory study by Maupassant.

Accepting the probabilities as actualities, we may conclude that several rarities in literature, philosophy and theology had

joined shelves already resplendent with the calf- and vellum-bound volumes that definitely bore a Holmes ownership inscription. When both groups are considered together—those that were positively and those that were probably in the Holmes library—we are struck more forcibly than ever by the catholicity of the great detector's collecting tastes. When his "book and pipe lay by his chair," as they so often did, we may safely assume that, though the pipe tobacco may not have appealed to all, the book did. It was almost always a worthy book, and it was almost always in a rare or first edition.

In addition to his fine individual items of general interest, Holmes undoubtedly also acquired several small collections of a more specialized nature. These were the books which he needed at his elbow when he was preparing his well-known monographs and articles, and, like the others, they were often scarce and always interesting.

While it is true that for his article, "The Book of Life," Holmes probably relied entirely upon his own observations, for his remaining monographs he needed and undoubtedly purchased the works of other scholars. Thus, for the first of his contributions to learning, "On the Distinction between the Ashes of the Various Tobaccos," Holmes certainly obtained Redi's *Esperienze intorno a Diverse Cose Naturali* (Florence, 1686) containing the first scientific tests with nicotine, as well as Philone de Conversationibus' *Venus Rebutee* (Cologne, 1722), an account of the various kinds of tobacco raised in Virginia and Germany with a description of the types of ash produced by each. His tobacco collection was not complete without Tiedemann's *Geschichte des Tabaks* (1856), dealing with various smoking mixtures and cake tobacco, cigars, cigarettes and snuff, nor—though it was not directly related to his studies—could Holmes have resisted the purchase of *Medical Reports, of the Effects of Tobacco* (1788) by Thomas Fowler, who wrote also on the effects of arsenic. It is interesting to note that Holmes's article, written by 1881, prob-

ably influenced Gaetano Casoria, whose treatise, *Sulla Combustibilità di alcune Varietà di Tabacchi,* with a chemical analysis of the ash of various tobaccos, appeared the following year.

In March, 1886, Holmes produced two short monographs for the *Anthropological Journal,* "On Variations in the Human Ear," and by the next year he had written another article of anatomical interest, "The Influence of a Trade upon the Form of the Hand." There is no question that for his aural researches he obtained a copy of Falloppio's *Observationes anatomicae* (Venice, 1561), a work containing the first clear description of the *membrana tympani,* as well as Duverney's *Traité de l'Organe de l'Ouie* (Paris, 1683), the first scientific account of the structure of the ear. For his study of the influence of a trade upon the form of the hand, he must have acquired, for his medico-anatomical shelf, a copy of Ramazzini's *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba* of 1670, the first account of occupational diseases.

At about the same time that he was engaged upon his investigations on the form of the hand, Holmes was also preoccupied with a monograph, "On the Tracing of Footsteps, with some remarks upon the uses of plaster of Paris as a preserver of impresses." Holmes's work, completed by 1887, antedates most of the researches in this field. While much attention had been given before that time to fossil footprints, it was not until Holmes led the way that André Frécon in France and Anton Prant in Germany could produce their works on the more modern variety of footprint.[19] Some material on gypsum or plaster of Paris was, however, available to Holmes, who surely acquired for his work a copy of Richard Peters' *Agricultural Enquiries on plaister of Paris* (Philadelphia, 1797) as well as Mathijsen's *Du Bandage Plâtré* (Liége, 1854), a treatise which, incidentally, introduced the modern plaster-of-Paris bandage.

[19] André Frécon's *Des empreintes en général et de leur application dans ... la médecine judiciaire* appeared in Lyons in 1889. Anton Prant's article, "Ueber das Aufsuchen von Fuss-spuren und Handeabdrücken und ihre Identificirung," was printed in the *Archiv. f. Kriminal-Anthropologie* (Leipzig, 1899).

It was not until 1890 that Holmes completed his essay "On Tattoo Marks." In this field, also, most of the works on tattooing, corporal marking and ethnic mutilation follow rather than precede Holmes. Yet there were one or two books that could have provided him with information, and these he certainly purchased: Lacassagne's *Les Tatouages* (Paris, 1881), Robert Fletcher's *Tattooing among Civilized People* (Washington, 1883), and A. W. Buckland's *On Tattooing* (London, 1888). It was not until after Holmes's article had cleared the ground that the important investigations of Maori and Samoan tattooing were at last undertaken.

By 1897, Holmes completed his treatise "On Secret Writings," and two years later his work "On the Dating of Documents." For the latter study—the art of "diplomatic"—he surely admitted to his shelves such treatises as Mabillon's *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681) and Madox's *Formulare Anglicanum* (1702). His little collection on ciphers and secret writings was more interesting. It undoubtedly included two fine seventeenth-century works: Falconer's *Cryptomenysis Patefacta* (London, 1685), on such pertinent subjects as deciphering secret writings, Bacon's cipher and the systems used by the Turks, as well as that ingenious volume on cryptography, John Wilkins' *Mercury* (London, 1694). Eighteenth-century researches in the field were represented among the Holmes sources by John Lockington's edition of Bowles's *New and Complete Book of Cyphers* (1795), illustrated with plates of ciphers. Holmes's shelf undoubtedly also contained the study of Thomas Young, who deciphered the Rosetta Stone: *An Account of some Recent Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature* (London, 1823) as well as Champollion's *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique des Anciens Égyptiens* (Paris, 1828), with its useful plates of hieroglyphic alphabets.

Up to this point, Holmes's researches have all been along lines more or less directly connected with his work as detector. He did not, however, confine himself to those fields. In writing, as well

as in collecting, he evinced a catholicity of interest by producing, around 1896, a privately printed monograph on "The Polyphonic Motets of Lassus." The difficulty of writing about the Belgian composer, Orlando di Lasso (1530-1594), has been pointed out.[20] The Lasso motets number 510 and, having been intended for voices only, cannot be played, but only read. There is little doubt, therefore, that Holmes must have acquired the rare first book of Lasso's motets published at Antwerp in 1556, and containing the great motet in honor of Cardinal Pole. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Holmes also indulged in the extravagance of purchasing Lasso's first book of madrigals published in Venice the preceding year.

Holmes's final work indicates, like his monograph on Lassus, the broadness of his interests. His "Practical Handbook of Bee Culture with some Observations upon the Segregation of the Queen" occupied him between 1904 and 1912, a period during which he must have acquired a remarkably fine apiarian collection. Holmes's shelf on bee culture boasted undoubtedly a copy of Charles Butler's *The Feminin' Monarchi' Or The Histori of Bee's* (Oxford, 1634), a volume of interest not only for its useful advice on the subject, but for its introduction of the use of phonetics in English. Close by this curious treatise stood Bazin's lengthy dialogue entitled *Histoire Naturelle des Abeilles* (Paris, 1744) with its finely engraved folding plates. Réaumur's *Natural History of Bees* (London, 1744) together with Ruccellai's poem on bees, *Le Api* (Parma, 1797) with its observations made by means of a magnifying mirror, were surely included in the Holmes collection. Only two copies of Ruccellai's work were printed on silk, and it is quite possible, though not definite, that the Holmes copy was one of them. Thacher's *Practical Treatise on the Management of Bees* (Boston, 1829) probably completed the

[20] By Harvey Officer, "Sherlock Holmes and Music," in Vincent Starrett, ed., *221B; Studies in Sherlock Holmes* (New York, 1940). Holmes's purchase of contemporaneously published music books is briefly considered in Guy Warrack, *Sherlock Holmes And Music* (London, [1947]).

small but select apiarian collection enhanced by a Holmes provenance.

There is a final group of works, forming a little library in themselves, that doubtless also appeared on Holmes's shelves. These are the books related to his general interests. Here, however, we cannot be on such firm ground as we have been in the past. His interests were many and generalized, and it is impossible to decide with absolute accuracy just which books appealed sufficiently to those interests to have been admitted to his library. All we can do is throw a hint here and there, with the necessary caution that this portion of Holmes's library is purely conjectural.

Watson, listing the limits of Holmes's knowledge and appraising his general interests for readers of *A Study in Scarlet*, advises us in 1881 that the detector's acquaintance with botany was "variable," but that he was "well up in belladonna, opium, and poisons generally." It is probably safe to assume, therefore, that Holmes, being, as we have seen, an avid book collector by that date, owned several important works in those fields. His toxicology collection probably included Santes Ardoyno's *Opus de Venenis*, though more likely in the Basle 1562 second edition than in the incunable first edition. To this he may well have added such fine volumes as Mercuriale's *De Venenis* (Frankfurt, 1584) and Codronchi's *De Morbis Veneficiis* (Milan, 1618). The nineteenth century produced many informative toxicologies which Holmes doubtless purchased from time to time. He was not likely to have passed up Sir Robert Christison's *Treatise on Poisons* (Edinburgh, 1829), since Christison had taught medical jurisprudence at Edinburgh and had performed the autopsy on one of the victims in the trial of Burke and Hare. Another treatise, published the same year, Morgan and Addison's *Essay on the Operation of Poisonous Agents upon the Living Body*, was very possibly added to the Holmes collection, since it was the first book in English on the action of poisons in the living body. Dragendorff,

who introduced methods for the detection of poisons in the human body, was more than likely represented on the Holmes shelf by his *Die gerichtlich-chemische Ermittelung von Giften* (St. Petersburg, 1868). On the specific subject of opium, Holmes may have acquired Hartmann's *Discursus qvidam de opio* (Wittenberg, 1658), Young's *Treatise on Opium* (London, 1753), and, of course, a first edition of De Quincey.[21] On the subject of belladonna, Holmes surely purchased Kilmer's treatise, *Belladonna; A Study of its History, Action and Uses in Medicine*, when it appeared in 1894.

Holmes's geological interest in soils, evinced as early as 1881, marks him out as a forerunner in the field. Most soil analyses appeared later than that date except, for example, Bergman's *Specimen Academicum, Causas Sterilitatis Agrorum Exponens* (Upsala, 1754) which Holmes very likely acquired. When the works of Sir John Bennett Lawes and Charles Barnard[22] emerged—the former in 1883 and the latter in 1894—Holmes almost undoubtedly added them to his library.

Watson tells us also that Holmes's knowledge of chemistry was "profound." Who can question, then, that, as a book collector, he acquired Giovanni Battista della Porta's *De Distillatione* (Rome, 1608) with its splendid woodcuts of chemical apparatus; or Lavoisier's *Traité Elémentaire de Chimie* (Paris, 1789); *Lectures on the Elements of Chemistry* (Edinburgh, 1803) by Joseph Black, founder of quantitative analysis and pneumatic chemistry; or a first edition of Davy's *Elements of Chemical Philosophy* (London, 1812)?

"Accurate, but unsystematic" is Watson's description of

[21] It is likely that Holmes also owned a copy of the London 1867 edition of De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*—an edition to which are added *Analects* from John Paul Richter. Among the analects is one on "The Grandeur of Man in His Littleness," a concept to which Holmes referred during his work on *The Sign of the Four*.

[22] Sir John Bennett Lawes & Others, *The Nitrogen as Nitric Acid in the Soils and Subsoils of ... Rothamsted* (London, 1883), and Charles Barnard, *Talks about the Soil in its Relation to Plants and Business* (New York, 1894).

Holmes's knowledge of anatomy. It is difficult, therefore, to do more than suggest one or two titles that may have appeared on Holmes's shelf, though we have already been able to indicate the works he owned on the anatomy of the ear. Bidloo's *Anatomia* (Amsterdam, 1685) probably bore a Holmes *ex libris*, and it is even possible that the detector may have invested in one or two incunables, such as Mondino de' Luzzi's *Anothomia* (Pavia, 1478), the first book devoted solely to anatomy. It is difficult to be sure of this, however, though there is little doubt that Holmes acquired later works in the field, notably Sir Charles Bell's *System of Dissections* (Edinburgh, 1798-1803).

Holmes's knowledge of sensational literature was, according to Watson, "immense. He appears to know every detail of every horror perpetrated in the century." Though Holmes probably owned *The Newgate Calendar . . . from . . . 1700 to the Present Time* (London, [1773]) as well as the later *Newgate Calendar; Containing the Lives . . . of Housebreakers, Highwaymen, etc. By an Old-Bailey Barrister* (London, [1840?]), it must be admitted that his "immense" knowledge of the field was based primarily upon his own commonplace books in which, from time to time, he placed his cuttings on crime, pasted extracts, and made out his ever-useful indexes.

The detector, Watson advises us, "is an expert singlestick player, boxer, and swordsman." We know, too, that he was an expert book collector, and so, while we have no actual proof, we may hazard the conjecture that he added to his library books in those fields. On singlestick and swordsmanship, he may have owned the *Practise* (London, 1595) of Saviolo, L'Abbat's *Art of Fencing* (Dublin, 1734) and, more than likely, *Anti-Pugilism, or the Science of Defence Exemplified in Short and Easy Lessons, for the Practice of the Broad Sword and Single Stick. . . . By a Highland Officer* (London, 1790) with four copperplates by Cruikshank. On boxing, he may well have purchased the Mercurialis, *De Arte Gymnastica* (Venice, 1573) with its boxing cuts; White-

head's *Gymnasiad* (London, 1744), the first publication dealing exclusively with boxing in English; *The Art of Boxing* (1789) by the champion, Daniel Mendoza; and other lesser works on the Queensberry rules and "la boxe française."

Concluding his analysis of Holmes, Watson informs us that he "has a good practical knowledge of British law." It is fairly safe, therefore, to suppose that he owned Fitzherbert's *Great Abridgment of the Law* ([London], 1516), the first serious attempt to systematize the law of England, as well as Littleton's *Tenures in English* (London, 1583) and a copy of the first edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries* (Oxford, 1765-69).

Upon a subsequent occasion, in 1889, Holmes mentions that he has made "some recent researches which have a medico-criminal aspect."[23] Can there be any doubt that those "researches" included visits to the rare and secondhand bookshops of London? There was a wealth of related material from which Holmes could choose, all the way from Codronchi's *Methodus Testificandi* (Frankfurt, 1597), the first important work on forensic medicine, to the latest researches in that delectable field. Holmes never could have resisted Antoine Louis' *Mémoire sur une Question Anatomique relative à la Jurisprudence* (Paris, 1763) in which the author weighed the differential signs of murder and suicide in cases of hanging. The articles of Hunter "On the Uncertainty of the Signs of Murder, in the Case of Bastard Children" (London, 1784) and of Gross "On Manual Strangulation" (Cincinnati, 1836) must have made an immediate appeal, while Bertillon's great work, *Les Signalements Anthropométriques* (Paris, 1886), which introduced to the world the "Bertillonage" method of identifying persons by selected measurements, must surely have been added to the medico-criminal bookshelf of Sherlock Holmes.

Ten years later, in 1899, we find Holmes admitting an interest in printing types: "The detection of types is one of the most

[23] *The Adventure of the Dying Detective.*

elementary branches of knowledge to the . . . expert in crime,"[24] and, we might add, to an expert in book collecting. There is, therefore, little doubt that specimens of Granjon's *civilité*, the Estienne, the Bodoni, Fournier Le Jeune, the great Enschedé type specimen book with its exotic fonts, had all by 1899 found their way to Holmes's library, where they could enthrall Holmes, the book collector, as specimens of the *Leeds Mercury* or the *Western Morning News* enthralled Holmes, the expert in crime.

Toward the end of his active career, in 1914, Watson informs his readers that Holmes is living "in a small farm upon the downs" and dividing his time "between philosophy and agriculture."[25] Without anything more specific to go on, it is impossible to do more than venture a guess at the books that may have facilitated those studies of Holmes's later years. In philosophy, he probably dipped into his first editions of Hume and Kant, Leibnitz and Locke, Spinoza, Hobbes and Berkeley. For agricultural entertainment, he may have turned to his 1560 first edition of Tatti's compendium, *Della Agricultura*, or to such lesser works as Blith's *English Improver, or a new Survey of Husbandry* (1649). It is useless to do more than speculate upon the nature of Holmes's philosophical and agricultural shelves. The man had so many facets to his nature, and the books available were of such an enormous range, that we must satisfy ourselves with what we have, and go no further.

It is supremely tempting, however, to ask ourselves where Holmes obtained his many fine books. As we have seen, his favorite book dealer was undoubtedly Alfred B. Clementson, who plied his trade at 73 Church Street, Kensington, and who suggested one of Holmes's many disguises. Close at hand—at 36 Baker Street—he found the news vendor, James Ellis Hawkins, who could dispatch the latest editions of London papers to

[24] *The Hound of the Baskervilles.*

[25] *His Last Bow*, Preface.

Holmes's rooms, and for maps he would always find Edward Stanford of Cockspur Street most reliable. There were other dealers, scores of them, into whose musty shops Holmes surely ventured as he passed through the winding lanes and alleys of his London. The Strand was full of shops, where books towered to the ceiling and spilled over onto the floors as Holmes browsed among them, his expert's eye glancing at a calf or vellum back. Newington Butts could always give him a field day, and who can doubt that he would walk through Camden passage without a visit to Mrs. Susannah Kettle, or through Church Street, Paddington, without a glance at Uriah Maggs's stock? For medical works, he could journey to Wardour Street, where Richard Kimpton plied a specialized trade, but everywhere—on Farringdon Street and New Oxford Street, on Praed Street and Drury Lane—he could, and did, wander through the dimly lighted cellars and the intriguing anterooms of one bookseller after another. There was Framjee Feroza on Camberwell Road; there was William Wright on St. Martin's Lane; there was Mrs. Robenah Boyle on White Horse Street in Stepney—there were dozens upon dozens of dealers from whom he could buy the earliest on opium or the latest on belladonna. For a French treatise, he might patronize Madame Celine Subtil in Prince's Buildings, Coventry Street, although probably for most of his French works Holmes used the services of his translator, François le Villard of Paris, a gentleman who may be identified as the son of Francisque le Villard, author of works on the Paris theatre.

Some from whom he bought, or tried to buy, still flourish: George Harding, Henry Stevens & Son, Bumpus, Quaritch, Francis Edwards. Most of them have vanished, and with them have gone the records of Holmes's purchases. Some may question, therefore, how Holmes, who once belittled himself as "a poor man,"[26] could possibly have acquired so remarkable a collection of rarities. Books were cheaper in those days, for one

[26] *The Adventure of the Priory School.*

thing. For another, Holmes had a keen eye for "finds" (we must not forget the great Zouche discovery at a London stall). Finally, Holmes was far from "a poor man." Like Mr. Holder, the banker, many of his clients proved "not . . . ungrateful,"[27] and his fees sometimes amounted to five hundred pounds[28] or an emerald pin from Windsor.[29] No, there is no question that Holmes was able and eager to acquire a fine collection of rarities, though the records have vanished with the dealers who made the sales. Yet, a loving eye can restore them all: the booksellers of old, the keen-eyed detector who wanders from shop to shop in search of a quarry in calf, even the books themselves, as we brush off the dust of the past, assemble them once again, and restore them to their rightful shelves in the treasure room of Baker Street.

[27] *The Adventure of the Beryl Coronet.*

[28] *His Last Bow.*

[29] *The Adventure of the Bruce-Partington Plans.*

Bibliographical Notes

Concerning the Dating of Rüst's and Sporer's World Maps

Mr. Leo Bagrow, to whom we owe a comprehensive history of cartography, recently published an article on "Rüst's and Sporer's World Maps."[1] We do not intend to investigate here all the results of his research. Rather, we wish to refer only to his reading of the monogram on the Sporer map, which led him to date it as belonging to "the early years of the 16th century," or considerably later than has hitherto been assumed.

Bagrow assures us that both maps were struck off the same block, and that the Sporer map is a second edition. He therefore uses the Rüst map as his point of departure, and he quotes the date assigned to the latter by the late Dr. F. von Wieser, professor of geography at the University of Innsbruck. This date, namely, "shortly after the middle of the 15th century," would certainly appear to be too early. Some fifty years ago, to be sure, it was quite common to date single woodcuts too early. How great the uncertainty in this respect was is well illustrated by many of the now untenable dates which were given to woodcuts by Henri Bouchet. It was not until the time of Max I. Friedlaender, and especially Paul Kristeller, in Germany, and Campbell Dodgson, in England, that new criteria were found whereby it was possible to arrive at a more correct dating of single woodcuts. Mr. Bagrow, however, is of the belief that von Wieser ascribes an early date to the map because he was the owner of the Rüst map and wanted to sell it for a high price. This is a rather grave reproach against a scholar whom Bagrow himself calls "an erudite student" and who is no longer in a position to defend himself. We are therefore all the more anxious to hear what Bagrow can tell us in support of the late date he gives.

Bagrow points to the fact that Hans Sporer had settled in Erfurt, where he published his first book in 1495. Furthermore, he finds the name of Rüst in Erfurt in 1505. He therefore believes that Sporer received the

[1] *Imago Mundi* VII (1951).

block of the map from Rüst in Erfurt during the opening years of the sixteenth century. I do not propose to dwell on his (by no means convincing) conclusions,[2] but would like to proceed at once to the examination of his main discovery, namely, the deciphering of two letters at the bottom of the Sporer map. These letters Mr. Bagrow reads as "v" and "e." This, he says, means "von Erfurt."

The use as a signature to a painting or woodcut of the initials for "von" or "de," plus the name of the city in which the artist lived and worked, is certainly without parallel in the annals of art history. Would it not be absurd to suppose that "Johannes Schnitzer de Armssheim," who signed the world map in Ptolemy's *Cosmography*, printed in Ulm in 1482, might have signed himself "d A"?

As a matter of fact, a careful examination of the two letters will show that the second letter is not an "e" at all, but an "f." This is confirmed beyond any doubt, moreover, by the artist's "f," which appears close by in the word "prief." The woodcut also affords ample proof of the very different character the woodcutter uses for the letter "e."

The "signature" "v f," to be sure, is not unknown to us. It appears—very much as it is found on the map—in a large woodcut representing the family tree of the Franciscans which Schreiber (*Manuel*, 1777) rightly, I feel, attributes to Nürnberg. Here, on the tree, we read the date 1484, and below we find the signature "v f." This same monogram also appears on a woodcut accompanying the book *Epistola de Miseria Curatorum*, Nürnberg 1489 (Schreiber 3903). What the latter signature really means we do not know. It is by no means necessary that it should refer to the woodcutter. It is very possibly a kind of trademark with which the publisher protected his rights. There is little stylistic similarity between the two single woodcuts just mentioned, yet they might have been identified as his property through this symbol.

In conclusion, therefore, we may say the following: We now know, including the Sporer map, three woodcuts which bear the monogram "v f." The style of the 1489 woodcut is rather advanced, and characteristic of the late eighties, whereas the large Franciscan family tree is the typical work of a somewhat rustic *Briefmaler*—work such as we know from the late seventies and the eighties. Since the letters "v f" are in the latter case so very similar to the ones on the Sporer map, we can at least

[2] Why, for instance, should Rüst and Sporer not have met each other when one of them lived in Augsburg and the other in Nürnberg between 1477 and 1484? The exchange of woodblocks took place over much greater distances than this.

say that the woodcut dated 1484 may well be of some value in the dating of Sporer's woodcut map—the more so since we know of Sporer's activities in Nürnberg during the 1470's and 1480's.[3]

Supplementary Note

Since the foregoing remarks were submitted, arrangements were made, through the kind permission of the Library of Congress and Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, to have the Sporer map sent to the Pierpont Morgan Library. As a result I have been able to make a thorough comparison of the two maps in question. Careful measurements, as well as the juxtaposition of detail, show Mr. Bagrow's suggestion that they are printed from the same block to be no longer tenable. The vertical diameter, measured by the outer circumference, is 27.8 cm. on the Rüst map and 26.7 cm. on the Sporer map. Even if the paper could be said to have shrunk slightly in the case of the latter, the difference of an entire centimeter could scarcely be expected.

Other discrepancies in measurement also exclude any possibility that the same block was used. The many deviations in design and in the formation of the letters alone, however, afford adequate proof that the one is not the "modified" block of the other.

Which, then, is the earlier? And what are the actual dates? These are the questions with which Mr. Bagrow begins his article—and now we find ourselves still face to face with exactly the same problems. New research must be done. We might, at the same time, call attention to the fact that the method employed in the making of the Sporer map was that of rubbing the paper by hand on the surface of the block *(Reiberdruck)*, in light brown colors, whereas the sharp, black Rüst print seems to have been executed on a press. At the present moment I would hesitate to decide which was the earlier of the two. Both, moreover, may go back to a lost (probably painted) world map of the same kind.

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[3] I wish to express my great indebtedness to Dr. Curt Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library, to Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, and also to Miss Elizabeth Mongan of the Alverthorpe Gallery for making it possible for me to study the originals of the two woodcut maps.

Three Notes on Charles Hanbury Williams

In his *Points in Eighteenth-Century Verse* Iolo A. Williams describes three poems by Sir Charles, all in duplicate editions of an order admittedly not amenable to bibliographical demonstration. The introduction of other evidence or, in a single instance, another line of reasoning, now confirms the sequence proposed for the first of these, reverses the one for the second, and tends to deny the one for the third.

1. The *Old Coachman*, published 30 July 1742, was abstracted initially in the August numbers of the *Gentleman's*, *London*, and *Scots Magazines*, and later in a September publication titled the *Summer Miscellany*. Without exception these four contemporaneous publications, each presumably deriving its text from the original issue of the poem, agree in the spelling "chear" (line 3) and in omitting the quotation marks (line 9), and thereby substantiate Mr. Williams' belief that the edition with these readings is the first.

2. For the *Country Girl*, on the other hand, this same approach accords priority to the edition Mr. Williams called the second, and therefore necessitates a rearrangement of the critical readings.

	EDITION A	EDITION B
Title	[Price Sixpence.] *usually altered in MS to* Threepence.	[Price Threepence]
Line 16	Yields to Ambition, mixt with Gain	Yields to Ambition mixt Gain
27	To B----'s ennobl'd Doxy	To B—— ennobl'd Doxy

As now identified, the first edition is the one cited in the *Summer Miscellany*, the only reference which approximates the date of the initial issue.[1] This edition, then, presents the better text, and the other, as we might suspect, evident signs of reprinting, both in the degeneration of its readings and in the habitual substitution of a single dash for multiple hyphens.

Since Mr. Williams attempts to enforce his argument by reference to the differing price for the two editions, it should be observed that the contemporary reports disclose some misunderstanding, but this at the time of publication, not at a later date. While the August 1742 numbers of

[1] Though this and the preceding poem are both reprinted in the *New Ministry* and the first number of the *Foundling Hospital for Wit*, a collation indicates that these derive in turn from the *Miscellany*.

the *Gentleman's* and *Scots Magazines* cite the price as sixpence—the charge for both of the other poems—the *Daily Advertiser* in its original announcement of August 4 quotes the lower figure. Very probably the alteration was entered in most, if not all of the copies immediately before they were advertised for sale (though not until after a notation had been dispatched to the magazines) so that customers buying the *Old Coachman* for sixpence would be tempted to pick up this new squib at half the cost of the other. The second edition therefore merely reflects a decision made some weeks before.

3. In his account of *An Ode to the Honourable H---y, F--x,* Mr. Williams again proceeds on the assumption that the first edition, though customarily proofread by the author, contains the misprint, whereas the second, though normally unattended and carelessly produced, represents an improvement of the text. And again, despite the absence of any positive evidence in this work,[2] I appeal the verdict and offer an order which conforms to the usual expectation in reprints.

	EDITION A, *1st state*	*2d state*	EDITION B
Lines 7-8	The Goddess smil'd, and thus began: I've got a pleasing Theme, my Son	begun:	began:

For this it may readily be supposed that the compositor of B used as his copytext an uncorrected sheet of A.

William B. Todd

King's College, London

[2] The Ode, first published on 23 August 1746, was not reprinted in any periodical until the following year, when it appears with the reading "begun" in the fourth number of the *Foundling Hospital.* This representation is so long delayed, however, that it is of little use in determining the priority of the separate editions.

Key Novels, American and European: A Supplement to "Literary Characters Drawn From Life"

I hate things all fiction; and therefore the Merchant and Othello have no great associations to me; but Pierre has. There should always be some foundation of fact for the most airy fabric, and pure invention is but the talent of a liar.

Byron, 1817

Now that German scholarship has entered the field of the Schlüsselroman, *roman à clef*, or novel with a key, the study of this particular bibliographical problem may be said to have come of age. The first two volumes of Dr. Georg Schneider's *Die Schlüsselliteratur* are reviewed (pp. 199-200) in this issue of the PAPERS. The third volume will consider, in greater detail, the key novel in English. The following list may be regarded, therefore, as both a presupplement to Schneider, v. 3, and as a postscript to my own book, *Literary Characters Drawn From Life* (N. Y., H. W. Wilson Co., 1936). The first supplement to the latter book appeared in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for August 26 and September 9, 1939. The present list does not repeat annotations I made in the book and in the SRL lists, or in the section in James Sandoe's anthology, *Murder: Plain and Fanciful* (N. Y., Sheridan House, 1948), which has the title "Criminal Clef: Tales and Plays Based on Real Crimes." Novels are frequently taken up for reconsideration, however, when new facts have been unearthed about or new light cast upon key characters, as in Gordon Ray's *The Buried Life*, which has restudied the whole question of Thackeray's use of living models.

Alcott, Louisa M(ay) (1832-1888) *Little Women* 1868-1869

"The author created for Jo a German professor whose traits she mined from her memories of Reinhold Solger and Dr. [William] Rimmer. Professor Bhaer bore striking resemblances also to August Bopp." Madeleine B. Stern, *Louisa May Alcott* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950). Solger and Bopp were teachers in Frank Sanborn's school at Concord; Dr. Rimmer was May Alcott's art teacher.

In Ednah D. Cheney's *Louisa May Alcott; Her Life, Letters and Journals* (Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1889), the name of the original of Laurie, a young Polish boy, is spelled Ladislas Wisinewski *(sic)*, on p. 179, in a passage quoted from Miss Alcott's Journal. He appears as Ladislas Wisniewski in Katharine Anthony's *Louisa May Alcott* (Knopf, 1938), and in Miss Stern's biography, and both ladies assure me that Wisniewski is correct. The other form, in fact, is not Polish.

Aldanov, Mark (1888-) *The Fifth Seal* 1943

"Obviously, to a reader marred with literary prejudice, the character of the famous French novelist Vermandois is the neatest manslaughter of the book. It could

scarcely have been done if Anatole France had never lived." Christopher Morley in the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*, April 1943.

Atherton, Gertrude (1857-1948) *Ancestors* 1907

"As a matter of fact John Elton Gwynne (obviously drawn to life from the English Winston Churchill) is an American by birth, by accident; though at the same time heir to one of the greatest ducal houses of Great Britain." John Curtis Underwood, *Literature and Insurgency; Ten Studies in Racial Evolution* (N. Y., Mitchell Kennerley, 1914).

Barclay, John (1582-1621) *Argenis* 1621

"A book which combined the attractions of a courtly romance with those of a political and didactic *roman à clef*," in the opinion of Douglas Bush (*English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1945). Hyanisbe represents Queen Elizabeth; Radirobanes, Philip II; Poliarchus, Henry IV.

Barrie, Sir J(ames) M(atthew) (1860-1937) *Tommy and Grizel* 1900

Grizel was drawn from Mrs. Sylvia Llewelyn Davies, two of whose five sons Barrie adopted. He described Mrs. Llewelyn Davies rather explicitly in indicating his wishes to Bernard Partridge, illustrator of the novel, as to the latter's depiction of Grizel (see Denis Mackail's *Barrie: The Story of J.M.B.* Scribner's, 1941).

"Tommy was in part a portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson, and Stevenson was indirectly responsible for the unsatisfactory scene [of Tommy's death]. When Barrie told him there was a bad end in prospect, he inquired joyfully, 'Am I hangit?' " Edward Wagenknecht, *Cavalcade of the English Novel* (Holt, 1943).

Basso, Hamilton (1904-) *The Greenroom* 1949

"As it happens, Mr. [Somerset] Maugham, unless one is quite mistaken, turns up in no impenetrable disguise in this tale, which, furthermore, is very slightly reminiscent of his *Cakes and Ale*. That is to say, *The Greenroom*, like that classic hotfoot Mr. Maugham administered to Thomas Hardy, takes a heretical view of a revered titan of literature. A titaness, rather, whom almost any one who knows the alphabet up to 'W' (for Wharton) will think he recognizes as sitting for at least the outline, the very general outline, of the central portrait. This is, of course, a delusion, because right in the front of the book it says that 'all the characters and incidents in it are entirely the product of the author's imagination.' She is Mrs. Leslie Porter, a greatly successful novelist; an excellent one in the genteel or Newport tradition, who long ago had fled from these crass States to live in the south of France." John K. Hutchens in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Sept. 17, 1949.

Beeding, Francis, *pseud.* of John Leslie Palmer (1885-1944), and Hilary Aidan St. George Saunders (1898-1951) *Eleven Were Brave* 1941

"To the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, this book, is, with his consent, in admiration dedicated." Sir Winston Churchill figures in the novel as Algernon Woodstock, and his physical appearance and inevitable cigar are accurately described. (He also appears in *The Twelve Disguises* [1942].) Marshal Pétain, then head of the Vichy government, figures as Marshal Villebois, and Pierre Laval has the unfragrant appellation of Vespasien Privet. See also Strachey, John.

Francis Beeding is referred to in Schneider as "Franco" Beeding. As neither of the two men had any taste for dictators, this has a certain irony.

Benét, William Rose (1886-1950)* *The Dust Which is God* 1941

A semiautobiographical novel, written in verse-form; the title is from Swinburne's *Hertha*. Christopher Morley writes: "Judges of rainbow are not often faced by such sensitive judgments as are required of Mr. Benét's iridescent book. The second-rate tourist in print will insist to be told, Is this literal autobiography? Is 'Sylvia' Elinor Wylie? Is 'Larry Harris' Sinclair Lewis? Who are Danby Slidell, Darlington Tracy, etc.? And presumably Raymond Fernandez is Mr. Benét himself? These are legitimate questions, of course, but I believe the best kind of reader will forget to ask them."

Mr. Benét stated in a foreword that "The character of Sylvia is quite obviously modelled upon the late Elinor Wylie [his second wife], but the circumstances of Sylvia's life are her own and the invention of the author: at times a faint approximation to the life of the original." Darlington Tracy of the *Despatch* is Christopher Morley, then columnist on the New York *Evening Post;* Danby Slidell, editor of the *Book Review*: Henry Seidel Canby, then editor of the *Post* book review section, later editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature;* Mary Wellman: Amy Loveman, also a member of both staffs; Larry Harris: the late Sinclair Lewis; Starr Gorham: the Californian poet George Sterling; Mirabel ("Mink") Carter: Dorothy Parker, the noted wit and poet; Redwood Roome: the late Heywood Broun, famous journalist; Rumbold Ives: the late Harold Ross, editor of the *New Yorker;* Tyler Smeed: Deems Taylor, composer and music critic; Gavin Heseltine: Henry Martyn Hoyt, the elder of Elinor Wylie's brothers; Boyce Wilmer: Joyce Kilmer, poet, killed in the First World War; Colemore Devening: Edwin Arlington Robinson.

Bennett, (Enoch) Arnold (1867-1931) *Denry the Audacious* [*The Card*] 1911

"Harold Keates Hales, head of Hales Brothers, British shipping concern, and donor of the Harold Keates Hales Trophy for the fastest Atlantic crossing, is missing and believed drowned since his overturned dinghy was found near Shepperton-on-Thames last Saturday. He was seventy-four years old... The principal character of *The Card*, a novel by Arnold Bennett, was drawn from Mr. Hales, who later wrote *Autobiography of 'The Card,'* and other books, including *Chariots of the Air, The Road to Westminster*, and *Harold's Adventures*." London dispatch to the New York *Herald Tribune*, November 10, 1942.

Bennett wrote the Duchess of Sutherland that "certain characteristics" of the Countess of Chell "were suggested by public knowledge of you." See Reginald Pound's *Arnold Bennett; a Biography* (Harcourt, 1953).

——— *Lord Raingo* 1926

Tom Hogarth is Sir Winston Churchill; Hasper Clews, Sir Stafford Cripps.

Benson, E(dward) F(rederic) (1876-1940) *All About Lucia* 1940

Gilbert Seldes, in his preface to *All About Lucia*, an American omnibus of four of the "Lucia" novels, intimates that a certain faction believed that the warm-hearted Wagnerian soprano, Olga Bracely, was drawn from the actress Mary Anderson, who lived at Broadway, and another school of thought, that Miss Anderson contributed something to the character of Lucia herself. Mr. Benson, in his posthumous autobiography, *Final Edition* (Appleton-Century, 1940), was noncommittal.

* Mr. Benét approved these identifications, and added others in his own handwriting. E.F.W.

Borden, Mary (1886-) *Catspaw* 1950

Prince Louis, the volatile ruler of a mythical Central European country, is very evidently studied from the personality and tragedy of Jan Masaryk, down to the final defenestration. Father Zadec, a martyred priest, also suggests Cardinal Mindszenty.

Borrow, George (1803-1881) *Lavengro* 1851

Isopel Berners, the heroine, has some points in common with one Elizabeth Jarvis, as Ivor H. N. Evans of North Borneo discovered by searching the parish register of births and deaths at Long Melford, Suffolk, where Isopel also originated. (Both were illegitimate, for one thing.) His findings appear in the *Journal* of the Gypsy Lore Society, XXI (Jan.-Apr. 1952), 13-16.

Bromfield, Louis (1896-) *Wild Is the River* 1941

"The year, presumably, is 1862. New Orleans had been occupied by a detachment of the Union Army under General James Wilks—roughly modeled upon General [Benjamin] Butler—who ruled the city like a satrap." *New York Times Book Review,* November 23, 1941.

Broun, Heywood (1888-1939) *The Boy Grew Older* 1922

"The book would not, he claimed, be autobiographical. But by some coincidence the hero, Peter Neale, turned out to be a sports writer and war correspondent, and there was an attractive foreign girl, Maria, a dancer and singer, who got on a boat and left him high and dry. Friends did not hesitate to read [Lydia] Lopokova [later the wife of John Maynard Keynes] into the dancer's part—though obviously some of Marie Doro was present also." Dale Kramer, *Heywood Broun; a Biographical Portrait* (N. Y., A. A. Wyn, 1949). Rufus Twile, according to Mr. Kramer, represented Herbert Bayard Swope of the New York *World.*

Buchan, John, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir (1875-1940) *Greenmantle* 1916

Sandy Arbuthnot, Lord Clanroyden, in this and other Richard Hannay stories, is a composite of Aubrey Herbert, son of the Earl of Carnarvon; Auberon ("Bron") Herbert, Lord Lucas; and T. E. Lawrence. "Clanroyden's later strategy in his Olifa campaign in *Courts of the Morning* is very much that of Lawrence in Arabia, with a memory, too, of the march of Montrose to Philiphaugh." Howard Swiggett, Introduction to Buchan's *Mountain Meadow* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

"Harold Nicolson reports [in *Foreign Affairs,* July, 1940] that at a review of the First Canadian Division at Aldershot, the second Lord Tweedsmuir upon being presented to [Sir Edmund] Ironside told him that his father had based his character of Sir Richard Hannay on the exploits of Ironside." *Ibid.* Mr. Swiggett also believes that there is a strong suggestion of Raymond Asquith in the character of Vernon Milburne in Buchan's *The Dancing Floor.* In *John Macnab,* Lord Lamancha, in his personal appearance and sense of humor is said to resemble Basil Blackwood, whom Buchan met in South Africa.

Other details of identification appear in John Buchan's posthumous autobiography, *Pilgrim's Way* (Houghton, 1940) (English title: *Memory Hold-the-Door*).

Bunyan, John (1628-1688) *The Pilgrim's Progress* 1678

The prototype of Mr. Worldly Wiseman (according to Vera Brittain's *Valiant Pilgrim; the Story of John Bunyan and Puritan England* [1950]) is chiefly "the

leading antagonist of all Bedford Dissenters," William Foster; Faithful is John Donne of Pertenhall, a fellow-prisoner at Bedford, and three or four others; Hategood, the Judge, "favoured Sir John Kelynge"; Hopeful is a composite of Bunyan's two sons, John and Thomas.

Carco, Francis, *pseud.* (1886-) *Les Innocents* 1916 (censored); 1919

"One would know more of her [Katherine Mansfield's] adventures with Francis Carco, whose merciless portrait of her [as Winnie] in his novel, *Les Innocents*, contains so much that is surely drawn from life." Paul Dinkins in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Oct. 20, 1951. See *Francis Carco*, by S. S. Weiner (1952).

Cather, Willa Sibert (1873-1947) *Alexander's Bridge* 1912

According to *Willa Cather; a Critical Biography*, by E. K. Brown and Leon Edel (Knopf, 1953), there are marked resemblances between the hero, Bartley Alexander, and Theodore Cooper, chief designing engineer for the Quebec bridge which collapsed on August 27, 1907.

——— *Death Comes for the Archbishop* 1927

"Based upon the lives of two actual prelates: Bishop—later Archbishop—Lamy of Santa Fe, called Latour in the novel, and his vicar general Father Machebeuf, called Father Vaillant. Keeping close to history as to dates and places and the chief persons, Willa Cather rounded out the documents on which the story was based and brought it richly and beautifully to life. She did not work it into a close-knit narrative, but wrote it as a series of scenes and incidents which in historic time may have been years apart." Carl Van Doren, *The American Novel* (Macmillan, 1940).

——— *A Lost Lady* 1923

The Lost Lady, Mrs. Forrester, was studied from life. She was the wife of Silas Garber ("Captain Forrester"), who had been Governor of Nebraska in 1875, and was "a Southern woman of extraordinary charm and color." They lived in a big house in Red Cloud, where Willa Cather spent her girlhood.

——— *My Ántonia* 1918

The original Ántonia was a Bohemian woman named Anna Pavelka, whom Miss Cather had known very well when both were girls. See also Mildred R. Bennett's *The World of Willa Cather* (Dodd, 1951).

——— *One of Ours* 1922

Claude Wheeler was suggested by the personality of her cousin, George P. Cather, Jr., who was killed in the Battle of Cantigny during World War I; and by David Hochstein, a young violinist, killed in the Argonne (Brown-Edel).

"In her novel *One of Ours* the Ehrlich family . . . is my family. Her depiction of the dinners which 'Claude' attended at the Ehrlich house contains memories of the many meals, on Sunday particularly, which Miss Cather took at our house with my Father and Mother and my five brothers, who in 1891-92, were all living in the house formerly occupied by Chancellor Canfield [father of Dorothy Canfield Fisher] on 'S' street." William Linn Westermann, in *Writings From Willa Cather's Campus Years* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1950; edited by James R. Shively).

Frederick B. Adams, Jr., writing in *The Colophon*, September 1939, stated that the Ehrlichs were drawn from the Canfield family.

——— *The Song of the Lark* 1915

Thea Kronborg, as a singer, was directly suggested by Olive Fremstad, according to *Willa Cather Living*, by Edith Lewis (Knopf, 1953). Ray Kennedy was drawn from a railroad man named Tooker, a friend of Douglass Cather, the novelist's brother.

Chesterton, G(ilbert) K(eith) (1874-1936) *The Napoleon of Notting Hill* 1904

"Auberon Quin, King of England, chosen by lot ... is one of the two heroes of this book. He is simply a sense of humour incarnate. His little elfish face and figure were recognised by old Paulines as suggested by a form master of their youth, but by the entire reviewing world as Max Beerbohm. The illustrations by Graham Robertson were held to be unmistakably Max." Maisie Ward, *Gilbert Keith Chesterton* (Sheed & Ward, 1943).

Chevigny, Hector (1904-) *The Woman of the Rock* 1949

Ruth Church is supposed to represent the California evangelist, the late Aimee Semple MacPherson.

Clemens, Samuel Langhorne (1835-1910) ("Mark Twain," *pseud.*) *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court* 1889

Mr. Cyril Clemens, author of *My Kinsman, Mark Twain*, writes me that the original of the Yankee was James Marvin, manager of a Hartford, Conn., hotel. Mark Twain and his family stayed there while their house was being built on Farmington Avenue. Marvin showed Cyril Clemens letters from Mark Twain assuring him that he was the original of "The Boss."

——— *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* 1885

In his posthumous *Sam Clemens of Hannibal* (Houghton, 1952) Dixon Wecter demonstrated the great and lasting influence which Mark Twain's boyhood in Hannibal, Missouri, had on his fiction, notably *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn*. The original of Huck was Tom Blankenship.

——— *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* 1876

Mrs. Richard Holliday, widow of Captain Holliday, was the original of the Widow Douglas.

Colette, Sidonie Gabrielle Claudine (1873-) *Claudine* 1900-1904

"As a young woman, Colette, as is well-known, came under the influence of the 'vieux satyre,' Willy, and wrote in collaboration with him the series of 'Claudine' novels, supposed to have been inspired by the once-famous music-hall star Polaire." Douglas Goldring, *South Lodge; Reminiscences of Violet Hunt* (London, Constable, 1943).

Collins, Mortimer (1827-1876) *Two Plunges For a Pearl* 1872

Dante Gabriel Rossetti called this book "an elaborately spiteful outrage." "In this novel 'a little man built like a grasshopper,' Reginald Swynfen, whose poems dealt with 'effeminate heroes and somewhat masculine heroines' was clearly Swinburne." William Gaunt, *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy* (Harcourt, 1943).

Conrad, Joseph (1857-1924) *Almayer's Folly* 1895

"Kaspar Almayer of *Almayer's Folly* was drawn from William Charles Olmeijer of Berouw, where Conrad knew him in 1887-88. It is impossible to tell why Conrad altered the name when he kept so many real names in the same novel. Usually he found it hard to call a character drawn from life by any but his actual name... Clearly *Almayer's Folly* was not a record of the life of William Charles Olmeijer but an expansion of the impression made upon the novelist by the man's personality." John Dozier Gordan, *Joseph Conrad; the Making of a Novelist* (Harvard University Press, 1940).

——— *Lord Jim* 1900

Mr. Gordan explains in detail the extent to which Conrad was indebted for the character and career of Lord Jim to the life and published works of James Brooke, officially created Rajah of Sarawak in 1841.

Constant de Rebecque, Benjamin (1767-1830) *Adolphe: Anecdote Trouvée dans les Papiers d'un Inconnu* 1816

"Constant disguised the emotional conflict between himself and Madame de Staël (which is the essential theme of *Adolphe*) by setting his story within the external framework of his affair with Anna Lindsay. Externally, Ellénore is the exact counterpart of Anna and the exact opposite of Madame de Staël. The artistic unity of the story is in fact damaged by this incongruity; a woman as submissive as Ellénore could not in fact have behaved with the violence which is described. Ellénore was of Polish origin, Anna's parents were Irish. For ten years Ellénore had lived with the Comte de P—(identifiable as Auguste de Lamoignon)." Harold Nicolson, *Benjamin Constant* (Doubleday, 1949).

Cooper, James Fenimore (1789-1851) *The Pioneers* 1823

"Ostensibly Cooper's own father [Judge Cooper] was the model for Marmaduke Temple." Ima Honaker Herron, *The Small Town in American Literature* (Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1939).

——— *The Spy* 1821

"There are in reality no parallels between [Harvey] Birch's feats in *The Spy* and [Enoch] Crosby's actual achievements; [H. L.] Barnum [in *The Spy Unmasked*, 1828] merely lifted fictitious deeds from the novel and unscrupulously attributed them to Crosby; and the latter in his dotage uncritically accepted the identification. Birch is restored to Cooper, his original creator, and takes his proper place among the notable characters not of history, but of fiction." T. McDowell, "Hunting Without Gun or Camera," in *The Colophon*, Spring 1940.

Corvo, Baron, *pseud.* *See* Rolfe, Frederick.

Deland, Margaret (1857-1945) *Old Chester Tales* 1899

"The setting of all these stories was a Pennsylvania village, which, somehow, made me think of Manchester, a place near Maple Grove. But I couldn't use that name because some of the characters might suggest people I had known. So I dropped the 'Man' and used 'Old' instead. A clergyman came into many of these stories, whom I thought of as looking like old Dr. Preston, of St. Andrew's Church in Pittsburgh. And, as the personality developed, he displayed traits of Uncle William

Campbell [Mrs. Deland's great-uncle], the old Dutch Reformed minister of New Brunswick, who had approved of John Ward [*John Ward, Preacher*, Mrs. Deland's theological novel]. Occasionally I borrowed a little of Lorin's [Lorin Deland, Mrs. Deland's husband] salt-and-pepper wit, to put into his mouth. In the story called 'Good for the Soul,' he made me think of Phillips Brooks, one of whose sermons in Trinity Church had also provided my old clergyman with an idea which I could use in 'Sally.' ... I had been bothered from the first to find a name for this composite minister, so I looked in the death notices of the Boston *Transcript* and, running down the list, I came upon a surname I had never seen before—Lavendar—and by it this old clergyman began to live his own life." Margaret Deland, *Golden Yesterdays* (Harper, 1941).

Dell, Floyd (1887-) *Moon-Calf* 1920

"In his first success, *Moon-Calf*, Marilla [Waite] Freeman was the real person behind the character of the librarian, Helen Raymond." Gerald McDonald in the *Bulletin of Bibliography*, Jan.-Apr. 1947. Miss Freeman is the retired librarian of the Main Library of the Cleveland (Ohio) Public Library. Dell met Miss Freeman at the Davenport (Iowa) Public Library. She now edits the department, "New Films from Books," in the *Library Journal*.

Dickens, Charles (1812-1870) *Little Dorrit* 1857

Little Dorrit is said to have been derived from Mary Ann Cooper (Miss Mitton), whom Dickens called Little Dorrit. "The illustrations suggest that [Blandois] may have been intended as a sort of cartoon of Napoleon III, whose régime Dickens loathed." Edmund Wilson, *The Wound and the Bow* (Houghton, 1941).

——— *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* 1870

"[Dickens] is still living between Gadshill and the house of Ellen Lawless Ternan [the young actress whom Dickens made his mistress and who is said to have borne him a son], who appears now in *Edwin Drood* with the even closer identification of the name of Helena Landless." *Ibid.* She is also the Estella of *Great Expectations* and the Bella Wilfer of *Our Mutual Friend*. See also *Dickens & Ellen Ternan*, by Ada B. Nisbet (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952).

Disraeli, Benjamin, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield (1804-1881) *Endymion* 1880

"I was eighteen when *Endymion* came out, with Dizzy's absurd attack on the 'sedentary' professor who was also a 'social parasite.' It would be difficult to find two words in the English language more wholly ludicrously inappropriate to Goldwin Smith; the famous letter to the *Times* in which he denounced 'the stingless insults of a coward' might well have been left unwritten." Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections* (Holt, 1918).

Dixon, Thomas (1864-1946) *The Clansman* 1905

"Traced the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina until the overthrow of carpetbag rule. Thaddeus Stevens, the most rigorous promoter of Reconstruction measures, is fictionized under the ironic name of Stoneman." Ernest E. Leisy, *The American Historical Novel* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

Dos Passos, John (Roderigo) (1896-) *Chosen Country* 1951

"Among the minor characters one is a reasonable facsimile of Clarence Darrow, one of Carlo Tresca and another of Lincoln Steffens. And a murder case tied up

with union labor has certain parallels with the celebrated McNamara case in which the Los Angeles *Times* was dynamited in 1910 and twenty-one men lost their lives." Orville Prescott in the *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1951.

——— *The Grand Design* 1949

"A full knowledge of the career of Mr. Henry Wallace and a close acquaintance with the magazine *Time* will be useful aids to understanding *The Grand Design*." (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, July 15, 1949.

Dostoevski, Fyodor (1821-1881) *The Possessed* 1871

Nechayev, the 19th-century Russian revolutionist, was the original of Pyotr Stepanovitch Veskhovensky, as Whittaker Chambers pointed out in *Witness* (Random House, 1952).

Dreiser, Theodore (1871-1945) *The 'Genius'* 1915

According to Helen Dreiser's *My Life With Dreiser* (Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1951), the hero, Eugene Witla, was a composite of three men, the artist Everett Shinn, "by whom he was fascinated"; a young art editor of the Butterick Publications, who had committed suicide; and Dreiser himself.

Dunn, Elizabeth (Clarke) (1903-) *The Moon to Play With* 1939

"The actress of *The Moon to Play With* is more renowned on Broadway than in Hollywood. Tall, magnificent, hollow-cheeked, Kingley Campion suggests a well-known actress by more than her initials." *Saturday Review of Literature*, Oct. 7, 1939.

Eastman, Max (Forrester) (1883-) *Venture* 1927

"The story of Jo Hancock, a Harvard youth with no fixed place in society, who comes to New York, there sets up as a 'portrait poet,' then goes into business as a coffee distributor and finally is caught between two currents—the romantic and the ruthlessly practical—and stranded." *New York Evening Post*, April 14, 1928.

"I have described in my novel *Venture*, which is partly based on [John] Reed's character, how full he was of gigantic schemes for diverting rivers out of their courses, upsetting the rhythms of the solar system, making barrels of money." Max Eastman, *Heroes I Have Known* (Simon & Schuster, 1942).

Eliot, George, *pseud.* of Marian Evans (1819-1880) *Middlemarch* 1872

"But I do not believe that she ever meant to describe the Rector [Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln] in Mr. Casaubon. She was far too good a scholar herself to have perpetrated a caricature so flagrantly untrue. She knew Mark Pattison's quality, and could never have meant to draw the writer of some of the most fruitful and illuminating pieces of European biography in the dreary and foolish pedant who overshadows *Middlemarch*. But the fact that Mark Pattison was an elderly scholar with a young wife, and that George Eliot knew him, led later on to a legend which was, I am sure, unwelcome to the writer of *Middlemarch*, while her supposed victim passed it by with amused indifference." Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections*.

"It is highly probable that recollections of Dr. Brabant of Devizes furnished hints for Mr. Casaubon in *Middlemarch*." Gerald Bullett, *George Eliot; Her Life and Books* (London, Collins, 1947).

"Elizabeth." *See* Russell, Countess.

Faulkner, William (1897-) *Sartoris* 1929

"Faulkner had been writing about Colonel Falkner [his great-grandfather, author of the romance *The White Rose of Memphis*] in the character of Colonel Sartoris, when the concept of his great cycle of novels took hold of his imagination... [Colonel Falkner] stood as an exponent of common sense against the extravagance and artificial conventions of the South. Nor was his death comparable to that of Colonel Sartoris in the Faulkner cycle of novels." Robert Cantwell in *New World Writing; Second Mentor Selection* (N. Y., New American Library, 1952).

"Colonel Falkner in his post-war career appears throughout William Faulkner's writing, providing the key to his whole cycle of novels." Robert Cantwell, Introduction to *The White Rose of Memphis* (N. Y., Bond Wheelwright, 1953).

Ferber, Edna (1887-) *Giant* 1952

"Despite the disclaimer in the front of the book, the characters in *Giant* will strike many Texans as bearing a remarkable resemblance to actual persons. Some will think that this is actually the story of the King Ranch and Bob Kleberg, and of the Shamrock Hotel and Glenn McCarthy." William Kittrell in the *Saturday Review*, Sept. 27, 1952. Jett Rink is the character supposed to resemble Glenn McCarthy, and Bick Benedict, Bob Kleberg.

Feuchtwanger, Lion (1884-) *Success* 1930

"No single figure in this book actually existed in Munich during the years 1921-23; but they did exist in their totality. *Success* does not present photographically *real*, but rather historically *typical* figures." Author's Note in the American edition of *Success* (Viking Press, 1930). Rupert Kutzner, with his carefully groomed hair, tiny moustache, and ability to make long hypnotic public addresses is the "historically typical" figure which represents Adolf Hitler.

Fitzgerald, F(rancis) Scott K(ey) (1896-1940) *Tender is the Night* 1934

"Gerald and Sara Murphy, with their charm, their social skill, and their wealth, were the heart of the original group. Fitzgerald drew on Gerald Murphy for these characteristics in Dick Diver." Arthur Mizener, *The Far Side of Paradise; a Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Houghton, 1951).

Forester, C(ecil) S(cott) (1899-) *The General* 1936

"The character of the Corps and Army commander, General Wayland-Leigh, nicknamed 'the Buffalo,' is undoubtedly intended to represent [Field-Marshal Viscount] Allenby. To those who know him it is a grotesque caricature of the man, but it is possibly no more than a slightly exaggerated picture of him as he appeared to those who knew him by reputation only." General Sir Archibald Wavell, *Allenby: A Study in Greatness* (Oxford University Press, 1941).

France, Anatole, *pseud.* of Jacques Anatole François Thibault (1844-1924) *The Red Lily* 1908

"He had a queer kind of liking for *Le Lys Rouge*, which is, to me, his one poor novel. Perhaps a reason why I disliked [it] was because it contains caricatures of two people I know. The one was Verlaine ["Choulette"] and the other Violet Paget, who wrote under the name of Vernon Lee... She was one of the few writers known

to me with whom I felt no sympathy; this partly because she was extremely erudite, which frightened me, and also extremely snobbish, which made me feel ill-at-ease in her company." Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, *Where Love and Friendship Dwelt* (Dodd, 1943).

Galsworthy, John (1867-1933) *The Forsyte Saga* 1922

"Soon after his return from this voyage came Galsworthy's inspiration to write. In 1891 his first cousin, Arthur Galsworthy, had married Ada Cooper, the daughter of a Norwich doctor. In *The Man of Property*, Irene, daughter of Professor Heron, is persuaded into marriage with Soames by his persistence and his unhappy home life, and whether or not Ada Galsworthy was likewise persuaded the result was the same—she learned the tragedy of a loveless marriage to a sensitive woman. Through his sisters, who were her confidantes and ardent partisans, like June Forsyte to Irene, Galsworthy became a sympathiser in her case, pity and sympathy changed to love, and in the autumn of 1895 they became lovers. The story of fact, as related by H. V. Marrot in his *Life and Letters of John Galsworthy* here differs somewhat from the fiction of Irene's history." Malcolm Elwin, *Old Gods Falling* (Macmillan, 1939).

"Of that father [John Galsworthy, Sr.] his son has left more than one record: that called *A Portrait* is avowedly from the life; and the character of old Jolyon [Forsyte] is little less faithful in essentials." H. V. Marrot, *The Life and Letters of John Galsworthy* (Scribner's, 1936).

Gaskell, Elizabeth Cleghorne (1810-1865) *Wives and Daughters* 1865

"Both the *Beagle* voyages and *Cirripedia* volumes earned Darwin obscure niches in works of fiction. In *Wives and Daughters* Mrs. Gaskell, a friend of the Darwin's, is said to have represented in the hero of that work, Roger Hamley, something of the character and experiences of Charles Darwin, somewhat romanticized. Roger is a scientist, 'full of his natural history and comparative anatomy,' a plodder who never realizes his own real worth. Thwarted in love he goes on an expedition which recalls that of Darwin as recorded in *The Voyage of the Beagle*." Leo J. Henkin, *Darwinism in the English Novel* (N. Y., Corporate Press, 1940).

Godden, Rumer (1909-) *A Candle for St. Jude* 1948

The ballet theatre and school run by Madame Holbein is based on a similar institution—the Ballet Club, later the Ballet Rambert—directed by Mme. Marie Rambert. See also passages on Mme. Rambert by Agnes de Mille in chapter 18 of her *Dance to the Piper* (Little, Brown, 1952).

Gray, James (1895-) *The Vagabond Path* 1941

The hero, Keith Donaldson, is a blond and good-looking young novelist, author of *Twilight of the Goddesses* (corresponding to F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Beautiful and Damned*); *Ask For Tony*, a novel of New York during the Prohibition years, suggesting his *The Great Gatsby;* and "a clinical study of Riviera Americans," resembling Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night* [q.v.]. Elihu Pennington, the theatrical producer who figures in *Vagabond Path*, has some points in common with the late Winthrop Ames.

Hardy, Thomas (1840-1928) *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* 1891

"Hardy once told Sir Sydney Cockerell that Angel Clare was partly drawn from Charles Moule, the sixth son of the Reverend Henry Moule, Vicar of Fordington.

Charles became president of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge." Carl J. Weber, *Hardy of Wessex. His Life and Literary Career* (Columbia University Press, 1940).

Harris, Joel Chandler (1848-1908) *Uncle Remus* 1880

"It was from the slave quarters that Joel Chandler Harris started his trip to literary immortality. As a lonely boy, shy with people of his own race, he turned for companionship to the cabins on a Georgia plantation. There he met Uncle George Terrell, the original of Uncle Remus." Sterling Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (Washington, D. C., Associates in Negro Folk Education, 1937).

Harrison, Henry Sydnor (1880-1930) *Queed* 1911

"R.G.C., Maryland, asks if I knew that Douglas Freeman, author of *R. E. Lee* (Scribner's) was the one who inspired Henry Sydnor Harrison's *Queed*, and that the novel was based on his life?" May Lamberton Becker in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, November 11, 1934.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804-1864) *The Blithedale Romance* 1852

"Zenobia is Margaret [Fuller] with certain characteristics of Fanny Kemble, whom he had known in the Berkshires, and perhaps of Mrs. Barlow, whose physical charms threw a spell over most of the men at [Brook] Farm... Both Fanny Kemble and Mrs. Barlow were separated from their husbands, and both may be said to have enjoyed large fortunes by Hawthorne's standards." Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (Viking Press, 1940).

——— *The House of the Seven Gables* 1851

Miss Catherine C. Ainsworth of Boston was the original of Phoebe, according to Carroll A. Wilson's *Thirteen Author Collections* (Scribner's, 1950).

"He had modelled the character of Judge Pyncheon upon the Reverend Charles W. Upham of Salem, and intended the portrait as revenge for Upham's connection with his removal from the Surveyorship. The portrait was recognizable in Salem; even Elizabeth Hawthorne in her seclusion recognized 'some points of resemblance, such as the warm smiles, and the incident of the daguerreotype bringing out the evil traits of his character, and his boasts of the great influence he had exerted for Clifford's release.'" Lloyd Morris, *Rebellious Puritan: Portrait of Mr. Hawthorne* (Harcourt, 1927).

Hémon, Louis (1880-1913) *Maria Chapdelaine* 1921

Eva Bouchard, who had the best claim to have been the original of Maria Chapdelaine, and who operated a Louis Hémon Museum at Péribonka for thirty years, died at Chicoutimi, Quebec, Canada, on December 2, 1949, at the age of sixty-four.

Herrick, Robert (1868-1938) *Chimes* 1926

"Nor does there seem to be any doubt that the 'President Harris' of the novel is a fictionized portrait of Dr. William Rainey Harper." Herbert E. Fowler, *Criticism of Education in the Twentieth-Century American Novel* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 1932).

Hersey, John (Richard) (1914-) *A Bell for Adano* 1944

The New York *Daily News* stated editorially in its issue for February 16, 1945, that the bullying General Marvin was "apparently drawn after the propaganda picture of Lieut. Gen. George S. Patton," now deceased. The original of Major Jop-

polo, Lieut. Col. Frank Eugene Toscani, 36-year-old former senior civil affairs officer in Licata, Sicily, on March 13, 1946, started a $250,000 libel suit against Hersey and five other defendants in Bronx (N. Y.) Supreme Court. The novel had been made into a successful play and motion picture.

Holtby, Winifred (1898-1935) *South Riding* 1936

The wise, tolerant, capable Alderman of this mythical section of Yorkshire, England, was drawn from the late Winifred Holtby's own mother. Vera Brittain, in *Testament of Friendship* (Macmillan, 1940), explains the extent to which Bill Durrant in *Mandoa, Mandoa!* (1933) was drawn from Winifred Holtby's elusive lover, whose name she does not give.

Home, Michael *Attack in the Desert* 1942

"In the story the British want to use some Senusi tribes who are reported to be within reasonable distance of an Italian outpost. They have a man to do the job, Brice—a pretty good fictional version of T. E. Lawrence—who has passed some twenty years in the desert, learning the dialects and perfecting himself as a learned priest." William Soskin in the *New York Herald Tribune*, January 30, 1942.

Huxley, Aldous (Leonard) (1894-) *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan* 1939

"In addition there is Mr. Propter (read Gerald Heard), whose preachings represent the point of view against which the rest of the action is judged . . . that one must be either an animal or an intelligence divorced from the senses, but not a mixture of the two, for the mixture can only lead to chaos." Theodore Spencer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1940. The California millionaire suggests the late William Randolph Hearst.

——— *Antic Hay* 1923

"The Tillotson of my story [*The Tillotson Banquet*] had no precise counterpart in real life. His predicament was suggested by that of Philip James Bailey who published *Festus* at twenty-three, was hailed on both sides of the Atlantic as a major philosophical poet, and died almost seventy years later, in 1906, universally unknown and totally forgotten. And in the background of the story hovers the ghost of Benjamin Haydon. That unhappy painter, who possessed all the characteristics of a great genius except talent, has haunted my imagination ever since, as a boy, I first read his Journals. A modern version of him appears as Lypiatt in the novel, *Antic Hay*, which was written a year or two after 'The Tillotson Banquet.' " Aldous Huxley in *The World's Best Stories*, ed. by Whit Burnett (Dial Press, 1950).

——— *Point Counter Point* 1928

Richard Aldington, in his *Life for Life's Sake* (Viking Press, 1941), intimates that the editor, Burlap, was based on John Middleton Murry. Maurice Spandrell has been said to have every characteristic—physical and psychological—of Charles Baudelaire. Beatrice Gilray is supposed to represent Katherine Mansfield; Everard Webley, Sir Oswald Moseley.

Jackson, Helen Maria (Fiske) Hunt (1830-1885) *Mercy Philbrick's Choice* 1876 (No Name Series)

"*Mercy Philbrick's Choice* is not a fictional biography of Emily Dickinson, but rather a novel into which have been inserted some traits of appearance and charac-

ter borrowed from her and some allusions to her actual history. Lavinia [Dickinson, Emily's sister] stated that Mrs. Jackson asked Emily's help on a novel which she had already projected and begun to write, and that when Emily either could not or would not contribute her share, her friend mischievously put her into the story... Her friendship with Ben Newton is paralleled in the brief account of Mercy Philbrick's relations with the young minister Harley Allen. Like Emily Dickinson again Mercy Philbrick encounters a second teacher in the person of Parson Dorrance, a former clergyman considerably older than she. Though Mrs. Jackson has carefully altered details, the Parson obviously stands in relation to Mercy as Charles Wadsworth to Emily." George Whicher, *This Was a Poet: A Critical Biography of Emily Dickinson* (Scribner's, 1938).

James, Henry (1843-1916) *Washington Square* 1881

"Mr. Dobrée quotes from a letter which shows that James's mind was turning towards the theatre a short while before he was presented, by Fanny Kemble, with his *donnée* (briefly, Henry Kemble's attempts to catch Thackeray's heiress cousin Mary Ann)." (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, May 27, 1949, reviewing a new edition of the novel in The Chiltern Library (London, John Lehmann, 1949). The novel was dramatized as *The Heiress* and successfully produced in New York in 1947.

Johnson, Pamela Hansford (1912-) *Catherine Carter* 1952

"Students of the stage will not fail to observe that I have given to Henry Peverel the physical appearance, many of the mannerisms, and an approximation to the speech-rhythm of Sir Henry Irving. Here the identification ceases." Author's preface.

Joyce, James (1882-1941) *Ulysses* 1922

According to Herbert Gorman's *James Joyce* (Farrar, 1940), Joyce's governess, Mrs. (Hearn) Conway is the Mrs. Riordan of *Ulysses*. One Cosgrave, his constant companion, is Lynch in the novel. Joe Casey, a typesetter on the Paris edition of the New York *Herald*, whom Joyce met in Paris, is Kevin Egan. "A Dubliner and an Italian" were combined to form Molly Bloom.

"A hostile witness, Dr. Oliver Gogarty, has described the restless and ribald Joyce of the ensuing period as a kind of modern Goliard, 'a medical student's pal.' Joyce had his revenge when he celebrated his medical companion, in dactylic dimeter, as the Malachi Mulligan of *Ulysses*." Harry Levin, *James Joyce: A Critical Introduction* (Norfolk, Conn., New Directions, 1941).

Kaye-Smith, Sheila (1888-) *The End of the House of Alard* 1923

Stella Alard is a portrait of Viola Meynell, daughter and biographer of Alice Meynell, and herself a poet. Miss Kaye-Smith, who progressed from Anglo-Catholicism to the Catholic Church, was a friend of the Meynells, and refers to them in her autobiography, *Three Ways Home* (Harper, 1937), as "a household of charming Catholics." "The story of the Alards had been suggested to me by the news that the heiress of a certain large and important Sussex family had entered a convent. The idea came to me of writing the history of that family's last two generations as I had heard it from my family. It must be a more common history than I imagined, for the only local family that did not recognize itself in the book was the one I had in mind."

Kipling, Rudyard (1865-1936) *Kim* 1901

Kim's friend the Colonel was drawn from Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich

(1843-1929), the Anglo-Indian frontier surveyor and watercolour painter. That is the belief of Leonard Bacon, as recorded in his autobiography, *Semi-Centennial* (Harper, 1939).

Koestler, Arthur (1905-) *The Age of Longing* 1951

"The key figure in the book is a literary big gun, a culture hero and so on, called Leontiev, who bears considerable superficial resemblance to Ilya Ehrenburg." Anthony West in the *New Yorker*, March 17, 1951.

Kyle, Elisabeth, *pseud.* of Agnes Dunlop *A Little Fire* 1950

"The sad, romantic story of a Victorian beauty, Douce Albany, who owned a large wine business in Glasgow and was tried and hanged for the murder of her husband. Miss Kyle makes no bones about the fact that her heroine's life and character are as like as possible to those of Mary Queen of Scots." *New Yorker*, June 10, 1950.

Lawrence, D(avid) H(erbert) (1885-1930) *Aaron's Rod* 1922

"Curiously enough, the most realistic (though satirical) portrait of Norman Douglas is the Argyle of Lawrence's novel, *Aaron's Rod*. This was the real cause of the breach between those two and of Norman's anti-Lawrence pamphlet, though the ostensible *casus belli* was Lawrence's superbly written introduction to the Memoirs of Maurice Magnus, who served in the French Foreign Legion and eventually committed suicide in Malta..." Richard Aldington, *Life for Life's Sake* (Viking Press, 1941).

——— *The Plumed Serpent* 1926

The American poet Witter Bynner appears in the opening chapter as Owen, an American "whose will-to-happiness was almost a mania." See Bynner's *Journey With Genius* (N. Y., John Day, 1951).

"Lawrence stayed for a time with the late Zelia Nuttall, the archaeologist, whose home near Mexico City contained a complete library of Mexicana... To express his gratitude Lawrence portrayed Mrs. Nuttall in *The Plumed Serpent* as the eccentric Mrs. Norris. Depicting a host in such unflattering light might be considered a breach of decency on the part of another, but on the part of Lawrence it cannot be so construed: for she was a scientist and he could not abide a scientist." William York Tindall, *D. H. Lawrence and Susan His Cow* (Columbia University Press, 1939).

——— *Women in Love* 1920

"The theme, or at least the germ of it, was the relation and the situation between the four of us... I was really astonished when, one day, Frieda [Lawrence] told me I was Gerald Crich... I was not Gerald Crich, but it is probably true that Lawrence found the germ of Gerald in me, as he found the germ of Gudrun in Katherine [Mansfield]." John Middleton Murry, *Autobiography: Between Two Worlds* (N. Y., Julian Messner, 1936).

Lazarus, Emma (1849-1887) *Alide* 1874

Alide is called, on the title-page, "an episode in Goethe's life." The Preface states: "I have incorporated in the ensuing pages whole passages from the autobiography of Goethe... 'Alide Duroc' on the contrary, is a purely imaginary creation, though her story is that of Frederika Brion."

Leverson, Ada (185[?]-1936) *The Limit* 1951 (re-issue)

"Somerset Maugham was her friend too. I have no reason to suppose that he thought the portrait 'indiscreet.' In fact Mrs. Leverson's Hereford Vaughan had very little likeness, except in the topographical character of his first name and the pronunciation of his second, to the author of *Of Human Bondage.*" Grant Richards, *Housman, 1867-1936* (Oxford University Press, 1942).

Lewis, C(live) S(taples) (1898-) *That Hideous Strength* 1946

"The titular director [of the National Institute of Coordinated Experiments] is a patent caricature of H. G. Wells." Theodore Spencer in the *New York Times Book Review*, July 7, 1946.

"After leaving Malvern College he became a private pupil of an Ulsterman, W. T. Kirkpatrick, the former headmaster of Lurgan College in Ireland. Lewis's father had studied there as a boy. Young Lewis, now an excited atheist, was delighted to descry in Kirkpatrick a kindred soul. Anyone curious to know more of [him] will find him, suitably altered for artistic reasons, in the person of the dour but lovable Scotch skeptic, MacPhee, in *That Hideous Strength.*" Chad Walsh, *C. S. Lewis: Apostle to the Skeptics* (Macmillan, 1949).

Lewis, (Harry) Sinclair (1885-1951) *Arrowsmith* 1925

"Freeman Lewis is a nephew of Sinclair Lewis; his father, in fact, was generally supposed to be the model for 'Red' Lewis's greatest character, Dr. Arrowsmith." Bennett Cerf in the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

——— *Dodsworth* 1929

"Dodsworth's marriage with Fran is a fictionalized version of Lewis's own first marriage, with Grace Hegger Lewis, now the Countess Casanova." Benjamin Stolberg in the *American Mercury*, October 1941.

——— *Gideon Planish* 1943

Dorothy Thompson, the second Mrs. Lewis, contributed to the portrait of Winifred Homeward, the Talking Woman, according to *Time*, October 8, 1945. Miss Thompson, writes Don Wharton in *Scribner's* for May 1937, is the Edith Cortright of *Dodsworth.*

McLaren, Moray *The Unpossessed* 1949

"His Lawrence Robert McMarr is in many ways strikingly like Robert Louis Stevenson, although Mr. McLaren is at pains to insist that the likeness is only superficial and that Stevenson was a man of different character and stronger purpose. The Edinburgh background is the same, though slightly later in date; so is the constant illness, the versatility and the feverish energy, and the death leaving a great book unfinished; there is also an American wife, though a different person from Mrs. Stevenson." (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, June 10, 1949.

MacLennan, (John) Hugh (1907-) *Two Solitudes* 1945

Huntly McQueen, in his name, devotion to his mother's memory, and other traits, suggests the late Prime Minister of Canada, (William Lyon) Mackenzie King.

Mann, Thomas (1875-) *Death in Venice* 1912

"Perhaps it will be judged that Mann, like [Gustav] Mahler, the composer who

was the model for [Gustave] Aschenbach of *Death in Venice*, was most faithful to his genius in his 'songs' rather than in his extended novels." Charles Neider, "Thomas Mann at 75," in the *New York Times Book Review*, June 11, 1950.

——— *Doctor Faustus* 1948

"Doctor Faustus has been called a Nietzsche-novel and indeed, the book, which for good reasons avoids mention of Nietzsche's name, contains many references to his intellectual tragedy, even direct quotations from the history of his illness." Thomas Mann in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, January 1, 1949, denying the late Arnold Schoenberg's charge that Adrian Leverkuehn was a portrait of Schoenberg (the composer). This episode is not mentioned in the discussion of Mann in Schneider, v. 2.

——— *The Magic Mountain* 1924

Mynheer Peeperkorn, the fat, forceful retired Dutch coffee-planter, with his "mighty wrinkled forehead," was drawn from the late Gerhart Hauptmann, according to Schneider.*

Maugham, W(illiam) Somerset (1874-) *Cakes and Ale* 1930

"In point of fact I founded Edward Driffield on an obscure writer who settled with his wife and children in the small town of Whitstable, of which my uncle and guardian was vicar. I do not remember his name. I don't think he ever amounted to anything, and he must be long since dead... It was true that I had Hugh Walpole in mind when I devised the character to whom I gave the name of Alroy Kear." W. Somerset Maugham in his Preface to the Modern Library edition of *Cakes and Ale*, 1950. A full account of the episode appears in Rupert Hart-Davis' *Hugh Walpole* (1952).

——— *The Magician* 1908

Oliver Haddo was drawn from Aleister Crowley, the British diabolist and poet, according to John Symonds' *The Great Beast; the Life of Aleister Crowley* (1951).

Maupassant, Guy de (1850-1893) *Bel-Ami* 1885

"Baron de Vaux [head of the Society Chronicle on the *Gil-Blas*] was sometimes credited with being Maupassant's chief model for the character of Bel-Ami [Georges Duroy] himself. The Baron was, like Bel-Ami, a brutal *sous-officier;* he was a great bluffer, and his title, like Bel-Ami's, was more than suspect." Francis Steegmuller, *Maupassant; a Lion in the Path* (Random House, 1949).

Mawson, Christian, *pseud.* of Christian Barman (1898-) *Ramping Cat* 1941

"A bold experiment, in which Lady Catherine Howard, fifth wife of Henry VIII, is translated to a modern setting, and the problems of her day paralleled by those of the present." *Annual Register*, 1941 (Longmans, 1942).

Mitchell, S(ilas) Weir (1829-1914) *Characteristics* 1892

"There is Vincent, the successful and slightly priggish lawyer. According to Talcott Williams' biographer (who was his secretary) he is the model for Vincent. Nevertheless, Mitchell hinted that John Cadwalader was the model, a suggestion that greatly pleased Cadwalader. Although Mitchell said that only Vincent was

*I am indebted to Mrs. Ali Levin of the Reference Staff, Washington Square Library, New York University, for this and other translations from Schneider.

drawn from an actual person, Clayborne, the scholar, is almost certainly Horace Howard Furness. But the attempt to identify St. Clair, the poet-sculptor, mercurial and provocative, with Augustus Saint-Gaudens is a mistake. The two men were very different." Ernest Earnest, *S. Weir Mitchell; Novelist and Physician* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950).

Morley, Christopher (1890-) *Where the Blue Begins* 1922

In this fantasy, in which all the characters are dogs ("pseudogs," Mr. Morley suggests to the compiler), Bishop Borzoi has been thought to be a satirical portrait of an American bishop of the Episcopal Church. See "Portrait of a Cleric," by Elmer Davis, in his book of essays, *Show Window*. Mr. Morley also writes me that Bishop Borzoi is not exactly a *portrait* of the Bishop in question, "but they had some bristles in common!"

Orwell, George, *pseud.* of Eric Blair (1903-1950) *Nineteen Eighty-Four* 1949

Goldstein ("classic renegade and backslider") resembles Leon Trotsky in appearance and uses Trotsky's phrase, "the revolution betrayed."

Peacock, Thomas Love (1785-1866) *Headlong Hall* 1816

"The partial identity of Mr. Escot and Mr. Foster with Peacock and Shelley respectively, probably points to an origin for the story in the duels of opinion which the two friends had fought in their walks of the preceding summer and fall." Carl Van Doren, *The Life of Thomas Love Peacock* (Dutton, 1911).

——— *Melincourt* 1817

"A writer in the *North American Review* for September 1817 identifies Derrydown with [Sir Walter] Scott, Feathernest with [Robert] Southey, Vamp with [William] Gifford, [Moley] Mystic with [Samuel Taylor] Coleridge, and [Peter Paul] Paperstamp with [William] Wordsworth. Mr. Fax ... is clearly, for his emphasis on overpopulation, Malthus. [George] Canning's versatile partisanships and his editorship of *The Anti-Jacobin* account for the name Mr. Anyside Antijack... Mr. Killthedead from Frogmarsh Hall ... stands for Peacock's kinsman by marriage, John Wilson Croker." *Ibid.*

——— *Nightmare Abbey* 1818

"In this famous and witty book Scythrop Glowry, the leading character, is drawn after Shelley. In Chapter XI Mr. Cypress the poet appears... Many of Mr. Cypress's remarks are prose paraphrases of passages in *Childe Harold*." Samuel C. Chew, *Byron in England* (Scribner's, 1924).

"Byron, it is interesting to know, was delighted with the caricature, and gave Shelley a rosebud, still preserved, to be taken to Peacock with his love." Van Doren. Flosky is another satirical sketch of Coleridge.

Priestley, J(ohn) B(oynton) (1894-) *Festival* 1951

"Mr. F. K. Leavis of Cambridge [is] the present day academic critic who has been most insistent on the criterion of contemporary relevance... Mr. J. B. Priestley has recently sketched someone very like Mr. Leavis in his lively harlequinade of present-day English life, *Festival*. ... [in the character of Leonard Mortory, author of *Disavowals*, *Rejections*, *Exclusions*, and *Refusals*]." Gordon N. Ray, "The Im-

portance of Original Editions," in *Nineteenth Century English Books; Some Problems in Bibliography* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1952).

Proust, Marcel (1871-1922) *Remembrance of Things Past* 1913-1928

"Much of the Duchesse de Guermantes' wit (though not all) he borrowed from Madame Straus... The portrait of Madame Chevigné in *Les Plaisirs et les Jours*, her birdlike profile and her husky voice, provides the solid, social outside of the Duchesse. The extremely beautiful Comtesse Greffulhe 'sat' for the Princesse de Guermantes. Charlus is not Robert de Montesquiou, though his violent method of speaking, and the picturesque arrogance of his pride, are borrowed from Proust's imitations of the poet, while his physical appearance is modeled on that of a certain Baron Doazan, who was a cousin of Madame Aubernon and shared Charlus' tastes... [Robert] Haas did supply the originals of some of Swann's characteristics, though his gift of erudition, which never went deep, had to be strengthened by contributions levied on another child of Israel, Charles Ephrussi, the founder of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. It is far more important to realize that Swann was mainly a projection of Proust himself. If it has been said once, it has been said a hundred times, that Bergotte was Anatole France... Bergotte is also Renan... Bergotte, finally is Proust himself. Laure Heyman, then in her seventies, was much offended by the portrait of Odette de Crécy into which Proust had incorporated her trick of using English words." André Maurois, *Proust: Portrait of a Genius* (Harper, 1950).

Berma is Sarah Bernhardt. One of Proust's most memorable passages describes "Berma" in a performance of Racine's *Phèdre*. Vinteuil is Camille Saint-Saëns.

Reid, Forrest (1876-1947) *Pender Among the Residents* 1922

"It was from [Professor Walter William] Skeat (1835-1912) that I got the suggestion for Professor Heron in *Pender*. I wanted somebody who might make the boy Trefusis possible. For Trefusis is an anachronism, being founded on the once celebrated Master Romney Robinson, and his poems are imitated from Romney's actual poems. Skeat, as parent, seemed to make him not only possible, but inevitable." Forrest Reid, *Private Road* (London, Faber, 1940).

Rice, Alice Caldwell (Hegan) (1870-1942) *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch* 1901

Mrs. Wiggs and the Cabbage Patch, a slum in Louisville, Ky., both existed, as Mrs. Rice explained in detail in her autobiography, *The Inky Way* (Appleton-Century, 1940).

——— *Sandy* 1905

"We listened by the hour to Mr. [Samuel S.] McClure's fascinating reminiscences. He had probably had personal dealings with more famous people than any man living, and whether he was describing these or recalling incidents of his own spectacular life, he held us enthralled. Out of these latter I collected the material for my novel *Sandy*. Mr. McClure professed himself pleased with the story I had written about his youthful days, though he said I had made him talk like a South of Ireland boy instead of the Ulsterite he was." *Ibid.*

Rice, Elmer (1892-) *Imperial City* 1937

"At a certain point the reader ... gives himself up to the game of spotting originals... He finds himself busily mumbling. 'He must have thought of Corliss La-

mont there' or 'He's something like John Haynes Holmes' or 'She reminds you a lot of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney.' One can't help having ideas." Clifton Fadiman in the *New Yorker,* November 13, 1937.

Roberts, (Carl Eric) Bechhofer (1894-). *See* White, Nelia Gardner.

Roberts, Morley (1857-1942) *The Private Life of Henry Maitland* 1912

"In a book entitled *The Private Life of Henry Maitland,* the story of [George] Gissing's life has been fully and frankly told by his old college mate and intimate friend, Mr. Morley Roberts. For reasons which I cannot divine, and which have puzzled others, Mr. Roberts has altered the names of persons and places and the titles of Gissing's novels with the result of some confusion to readers outside the circle of Gissing's intimates. They will not guess that 'Harold Edgewood' is Mr. Frederic Harrison, that by 'John Harley' and the *Piccadilly Gazette* are meant John Morley and the *Pall Mall Gazette;* that 'John Glass' is the late James Payn; 'G. H. Rivers,' Mr. H. G. Wells; 'Edward Latter,' Mr. Clement Shorter; nor will they easily identify me [Edward Clodd] under the disguise of 'Edmund Roden.'" Edward Clodd, *Memories* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1916).

Robinson, Henry Morton (1898-) *The Cardinal* 1950

"As Stephen [Fermoyle] moves higher in the diocesan life of Boston, the details become more complex—as complex as the nature of Cardinal Glennon himself, 'No. 1,' whom Mr. Robinson has pretty obviously modeled on the late William Cardinal O'Connell, that patrician scholar and financial genius." John K. Hutchens in the *New York Herald Tribune,* April 4, 1950.

Rolfe, Frederick William (1860-1913) ("Baron Corvo," *pseud.*) *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole* 1934

The Reverend Bobugo Bonson, a "stuttering little Chrysostom of a priest," is a caricature of Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson. Rolfe also described his quondam friend and collaborator as having "the Cambridge manners of a Vaughan's Dove, the face of the Mad Hatter out of *Alice in Wonderland,* and the figure of an Etonian who insanely neglects to take any pains at all with the temple of the Holy Grail, but wears paper collars and a black straw Alpine hat. By sensational novel writing and by perfervid preaching he had made enough money to buy a country place." See also A. J. A. Symons' *The Quest for Corvo* (Macmillan, 1934). Nicholas Crabbe, the hero of the novel, is Rolfe.

——— *Hadrian the Seventh* 1904

George Arthur Rose, who becomes Pope, is Rolfe. Blackcote, and Father St. Albans, represent Fr. Charles S. de Vere Beauclerk. Alfred Elms, the painter, is Trevor Haddon, a painter, whose wife disliked and distrusted Rolfe.

Russell, Mary Annette (Beauchamp), Grafin von Arnim, later Countess Russell (1866-1941) ("Elizabeth," *pseud.*) *The Caravaners* 1909

"Elizabeth" explains in the preface to *One Thing in Common* (1941), an omnibus of three of her novels, that the conceited and selfish Junker officer of *The Caravaners* in no way resembled her first husband, Graf Henning Berndt von Arnim of Pomerania. Her unsuccessful marriage to Bertrand Russell's brother Francis, the second Lord Russell, is reflected in a later novel, *Vera* (1921).

Sand, George, *pseud.* of Amandine Aurore Lucile (Dupin) Dudevant (1804-1876) *Elle et Lui* 1859

"When Alfred de Musset died it was generally supposed by those who read his poems that George Sand had broken his heart and caused his untimely end. George then decided that it was time to give her version of the love affair. Two years after the death of the poet she wrote with considerable detachment what has been described by John Oliver Hobbes as 'the sanest account of a sentimental experience ever written.' This novel, entitled *Elle et Lui,* appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes... Elle et Lui* was answered by *Lui et Elle,* written by Alfred's brother Paul de Musset. *Lui et Elle,* though in the form of a novel, was merely a pamphlet of hate. Whereas George had written out of her own experience, Paul had nothing to write from except his memories of Alfred's bitter words." Marie Jenney Howe, *George Sand; The Search For Love* (Doubleday, 1927).

Santayana, George (1863-1952) *The Last Puritan* 1936

"Various traits, major and minor, belonging to Cam Forbes [William Cameron Forbes, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands from 1909 to 1913] were appropriated by me for the hero of *The Last Puritan.* In the first place, the relation to his father, the atavism of Puritan blood asserting itself, affectionately and kindly, but invincibly, against a rich father. But my Oliver is no portrait of Cam or of anyone else, although many of the details are drawn from life in various persons." George Santayana, *The Middle Years* (Scribner's, 1945).

Schulberg, Budd (1914-) *The Disenchanted* 1950

The central figure, Manley Halliday, "obviously is a novelist's recasting of the story of Scott Fitzgerald, the glamour-writer about the beautiful and damned in the early 1920's," according to Lewis Gannett in the *New York Herald Tribune,* Oct. 30, 1950. See Arthur Mizener's *The Far Side of Paradise* (1951), pp. 280-282, for an account of a trip Schulberg and Fitzgerald made to the Dartmouth College Winter Carnival, similar to the one in the novel.

Shearing, Joseph, *pseud.* of Gabrielle Margaret Long (1886-1952) *The Golden Violet* 1936

Mrs. Long wrote me that her lady novelist, the heroine, was partly based on Letitia Landon ("L.E.L."), and the Jamaican with whom she fell in love "on a half-caste of education who was hanged for inciting Negroes to a riot." I find from Dame Una Pope-Hennessy's *Canon Charles Kingsley* (London, Chatto, 1948) that this must have been George William Gordon, a colored man, a Baptist, and a member of the House of Assembly. Though undoubtedly innocent, he was condemned by an English court-martial. John Edward Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, returned to England to find an unofficial Jamaica Committee ready to indict him for murder.

Sheppard, Elizabeth Sara (1830-1862) *Charles Auchester; a Memorial* 1853

"A friend who shared her literary secrets, and to whom she showed the manuscript, persuaded her to send it to Disraeli, who was already known to fame. In a moment of daring impulse she did so, and received in reply a kindly letter of strong praise and encouragement. Disraeli also introduced her to his publishers to whom he forwarded the manuscript, and in 1853 *Charles Auchester* was published anonymously, in three volumes, with a dedication: 'To the author of Contarini Fleming.' The book attracted attention at once, and aroused a great deal of interest in musical

circles, owing to the fact that its characters have their prototypes in well-known musicians—many of them then living—and its hero was [Felix] Mendelssohn [-Bartholdy], very thinly disguised.

"The key to the characters is said to be as follows:—Chevalier Seraphael, Mendelssohn; Maria Cerinthea, Mdme. Maria Malibran; Joseph Cerinthea, Mdme. Pauline Viardot; Clara Benette, Jenny Lind; Lenhart Dacy, John Hullah; Santonio, Sainton; Starwood Burney, Sterndale Bennett; Milans-Andre, Thalberg; Joseph Cerinthea, Garcia; Anastase, [Hector] Berlioz; Miss Lawrence, Mrs. Horsley; Charles Auchester, Charles Horsley; Aronach, Zelter. . . .

"As regards the character of Seraphael, it has been said by some critics that the portrait is far-fetched, and untrue to life. It is certainly very much idealised, and the chief events in the life of the hero of *Charles Auchester* do not tally with those in the life of Mendelssohn. The author has based her portrait of the latter more on his personality than on his career. . . In extenuation of this, however, it has been pointed out that everything about Mendelssohn *was* unreal—his precocious genius, his beauty, and his power. When conducting, he did cast a spell over his audiences, and had a magnetic effect upon them. The youth who at seventeen composed the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was no ordinary being." Jessie A. Middleton, Introduction to *Charles Auchester* in the Everyman's Library edition (Dutton).

Shute, Nevil, *pseud.* of Nevil Shute Norway (1899-) *The Legacy* 1950

"'I do not think I have ever before turned to real life for an incident in one of my novels,' says Nevil Shute in a note that follows his new novel, but he has done so at last because he was 'unable to resist the appeal of this true story, and because I want to pay what tribute is within my power to the most gallant lady I have ever met.' If it is hard to believe that Nevil Shute had never before used an incident from real life, that in itself is a tribute to the compelling reality with which he makes his novels live. As to the gallant lady, in real life she is Mrs. J. G. Geysel-Vonck, of Palembang in Sumatra, with whose family Mr. Shute stayed in 1949." Lewis Gannett in the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 7, 1950. She is called Jean Paget in the novel.

Spring, Howard (1889-) *Fame Is The Spur* 1940

"Now J. Hamer Shawcross is, of course, our old friend J. Ramsay MacDonald, the handsome, the gifted, the unforgettable Ramsay Mac, first Socialist Prime Minister of England; and it is interesting to see what Mr. Spring does with Hamer-MacDonald. He has caught the Hamer-MacDonald eloquence, the masterly presence, the now legendary opportunism, the shallow facile conviction; but though he is far more severe with Hamer than MacDonald personally deserved, I am not sure that he has really caught MacDonald. For though Hamer and MacDonald had many qualities in common, Hamer was a charlatan; MacDonald was not. Hamer and MacDonald both knew how to use people, their charming poignant wives, their rich friends, their impressionable constituents. But Hamer was something of a crook; MacDonald was not. It is true that MacDonald, very much like Hamer, was excessively fond of a lord and certainly less interested in Socialism than in J. Ramsay MacDonald; but to understand why MacDonald failed in life and hence failed the great masses of workaday English folk who made him and loved him, is to understand far more than Mr. Spring gives us to understand." Alfred Kazin in the *New York Herald Tribune*, November 18, 1940.

——— *The Houses in Between* 1952

A. B. Wibsey is "clearly a caricature of H. G. Wells," writes Harvey Curtis Webster in the *Saturday Review*, May 3, 1952.

Sterne, Laurence (1713-1768) *Tristram Shandy* 1760-1767

"John Hall, who some years later added Stevenson to his name and inherited Skelton Castle, over on the Yorkshire coast near Saltburn-by-the-Sea . . . is the 'dear Cousin Antony' of numerous letters and the discreet Eugenius of *Tristram Shandy*, who warns Yorick against 'unwary pleasantry,' lest it bring him into 'scrapes and difficulties' out of which no after-wit can extricate him. Five years younger than Sterne, Hall-Stevenson entered Jesus College as a fellow-commoner in 1735. Though the two men were together at Cambridge for only a year and a half, that time was long enough for a close friendship, 'which ever after . . . continued one and indivisible through life.'" Wilbur L. Cross, *The Life and Times of Laurence Sterne* (Yale University Press, 1925).

Stevenson, Robert Louis (1850-1894) *Prince Otto* 1885

"R.L.S. in a letter to Lloyd Osbourne declared that Otto was drawn from his cousin R. A. M. Stevenson. The portrait, it would seem, is only of R.A.M.'s surprising doublings and twistings in friendly controversy, and no more a full picture than is the pirate Silver one of W. E. Henley. A single trait in a friend was material enough for Stevenson in creating a character by a process of transplantation. The same method no doubt explains his confession that the demi-rep Countess von Rosen had her original in the very charming lady, Mdme. Zassetsky, to whom Stevenson was indebted for much kindness during the months of his first invalidism at Mentone. The Countess, the most living figure in the Dresden-china world of Grunewald was, according to R.L.S., one of the only two women characters parts which had pleased him." George E. Brown, *A Book of R.L.S.; Works, Travels, Friends and Commentators* (London, Methuen, 1919).

——— *Treasure Island* 1883

"I had an idea for John Silver from which I promised myself funds of entertainment; to take an admired friend of mine (whom the reader very likely knows and admires as much as I do) [W. E. Henley], to deprive him of all his finer qualities and higher graces of temperament, to leave him with nothing but his strength, his courage, his quickness, and his magnificent geniality, and try to express these in terms of the culture of raw tarpaulin. Such physical surgery is, I think, a common way of 'making character'; perhaps it is, indeed, the only way. We can put in the quaint figure that spoke a hundred words with us yesterday by the wayside; but do we know him? Our friend with his infinite variety and flexibility, we know—but can we put him in? Upon the first, we must engraft secondary and imaginary qualities, possibly all wrong; from the second, knife in hand, we must cut away and deduct the needless arborescence of his nature, but the trunk and the few branches that remain we may at least be fairly sure of." Robert Louis Stevenson, "Treasure Island," in *My First Book* (a symposium) (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1894).

"The character of Squire Trelawney he drew from his conception of Walter Savage Landor, on whom Colvin was then writing a study for the 'English Men of Letters' series." Malcolm Elwin, *Old Gods Falling* (Macmillan, 1939).

Stowe, Harriet Beecher (1811-1896) *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* 1856

"An amusing touch in *Dred* should be noted. Harriet was feminine enough and still spiteful enough to pay in that novel her final respects to abused Dr. Joel Parker, whom she had never forgiven... In 1856 there could have been few of Harriet's readers who did not know what Northern minister was the original of [the Rev. Dr.] Shubael Packthread." Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Lippincott, 1941).

——— *My Wife and I* 1871

"When *My Wife and I* appeared as a book, Harriet presented it with a foreword disclaiming that any of her characters were drawn from living persons. It was perhaps the first time that now familiar notice had ever appeared in an American novel. She had need to make the disclaimer emphatic, for already the newspapers were pointing to certain resemblances. For instance, Audacia Dangereyes ... manifestly might be taken for a composite portrait of Victoria Woodhull and Tennie [Tennessee Woodhull] Claflin... Some professed to see in the character of Mrs. Stella Cerulean a likeness of Elizabeth Cady Stanton." *Ibid.*

Strachey, John (1901-) *The Frontiers* 1952

Nordenac, with his "yellow-black, Malayan-looking face" and squat figure, represents Pierre Laval, the Vichy collaborationist of World War II who was later executed. See also Beeding, Francis.

Stribling, Thomas Sigismund (1881-) *These Bars of Flesh* 1938

"Unlike any other book of Mr. Stribling's. It is, in a sense, his *Prodigal Parents* [a novel by Sinclair Lewis], in which he vents his spleen upon progressive education, New York labor unions and union pickets, American politics, young radicals, and the factory system of higher education. 'No character in this book is based upon any living individual,' Mr. Stribling is careful to explain, 'and the university wherein the story is laid is a composite of many institutions.' It is well that he inserted this disclaimer; otherwise his New York readers would have thought they were chuckling at the temple of learning presided over by Mr. Butler [the late Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University] and graced by the prodigious Pitkin [the late Professor Walter Pitkin.]... At the university Andrew soon encounters Dr. Fyke, the 'psychologist' who, with the aid of a competent crew of assistant writers, counts on turning out two best sellers every year." Lewis Gannett in the *New York Herald Tribune,* April 8, 1938.

Swinnerton, Frank (1884-) *On the Staircase* 1914

"Of the two chief male characters one was a fancy drawing of George Gissing, while the other was an even more fancy portrait of myself. I was the hero. I did not deny Gissing his superiorities, and merely contrasted two temperaments for the sake of the intrinsic interest of such a contrast." Frank Swinnerton, *Swinnerton: an Autobiography* (Doubleday, 1936).

Symons, Julian (1912-) *Bland Beginning* 1949

James Melton Cobb of Selden Castle is remindful of Thomas J. Wise, the British bibliophile and literary forger. Mr. Symons' postscript states: "It will be obvious to those of my readers interested in bibliography that the bibliographical 'discoveries' in my book are derived from that most ingenious piece of literary detection,

An Enquiry into the Nature of Certain Nineteenth Century Pamphlets by John Carter and Graham Pollard. I have taken the liberty in my story of anticipating by a few years some of Messrs. Carter and Pollard's conclusions. This purely fictional anticipation was rendered necessary by certain changes in the English law of inheritance, because of which my story had to be set in a year before 1925; no reflection is intended upon Messrs. Carter and Pollard's original researches—by which I have been propped, indeed as by a pillar."

Tabori, George (1914-) *Companions of the Left Hand* 1946

A "story of a Hungarian playwright, a fellow who lorded it in the Café New York, whose sophisticated studies of adultery were performed all over the world." The central character, Stefan Farkas, was based on the late Ferenc Molnar, according to the late William Soskin in the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 29, 1946.

Thackeray, William Makepeace (1811-1863) *Pendennis* 1850

Gordon N. Ray's *The Buried Life; a Study of the Relation Between Thackeray's Fiction and His Personal History* (Harvard University Press, 1952), demonstrates for the first time that the original of Major Pendennis was Lt. Colonel Merrick Shawe, the novelist's uncle by marriage.

——— *Vanity Fair* 1848

Piecing together family papers and Commonwealth Relations Office records, Dr. Ray also shows that Miss Crawley was Thackeray's maternal grandmother, Harriet Cowper Becher. Jos Sedley is "an over-coloured picture of George Trant Shakespear" (Thackeray's cousin).

"In *Vanity Fair*, Lord Hertford reappears as the Marquis of Steyne, Lord Lonsdale as Lord Colchicum, and Croker as the sycophant Wenham... The recognisable characteristics of actual personalities, subsequently considered an odious feature of Thackeray's fiction, owed their origin to Disraeli. Seeking a saleable proposition for a novel, Thackeray may have remembered the busy gossip in the clubs when, as he himself describes, the volumes of *Coningsby* were eagerly devoured and 'everybody recognizes everybody's portrait.'... When, three years afterwards, *Punch* published the inimitable parody of *Codlingsby*, Disraeli accepted an affront which, having rankled for thirty years, was avenged by the character of St. Barbe in *Endymion*. He is said never to have addressed Thackeray voluntarily again." Malcolm Elwin, *Thackeray: A Personality* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1932).

"Tracing originals for the characters of fiction is unquestionably one of the most dangerous of scholarly undertakings, and should not be attempted without copious insistencies that no good novelist is likely to have derived a prominent character entirely from one individual. On the other hand, if a particular character stands out in a novelist's work as exceptionally vivid and human—indeed as exceeding in plausibility any previous fictitious character of the same general type; and if the novelist is known to have used living prototypes for some of the other characters in the same book; and finally, if it is demonstrable that the novelist was well acquainted with the traits of the person who is suggested as his original, then the imputation deserves some attention. On these premises, I venture to propose a living model for Thackeray's most famous character, Becky Sharp. In the course of investigating the works and life of the Irish novelist, Sidney Owenson, Lady Morgan (1775?-1859), I became aware of several points of contact between her stories and *Vanity Fair*... In character, and personal appearance, Thackeray's heroine, Becky Sharp, bore an amazing resemblance to the impression held by Thackeray and his

friends regarding Lady Morgan herself. Their impression was unfair and prejudiced, but it was strongly retained during almost half a century... To sum up, Sidney Owenson was one of the first women to rise entirely by her wit and shrewdness from a childhood of Bohemianism and poverty through the stages of governess and lady-companion to rank and social prestige through a judicious marriage and a sound business sense. And in English fiction Becky Sharp was the first representative of such a career. Add to this the specific resemblances listed above, and one can scarcely avoid feeling that Thackeray drew some of the most prominent traits of his heroine from the famous Irish writer." A. Lionel Stevenson in *PMLA* 48 (1933), 547-551.

"I wonder whether Thackeray, when he conceived his green-eyed governess, the immortal Becky [Sharp], had in mind Mdlle Deluzy-Desportes [the governess who was involved in the Praslin murder, Paris, 1847, which was the basis of the late Rachel Field's novel, *All This, and Heaven Too,* and of *The Strange Case of Lucile Cléry,* by the late Joseph Shearing]. Certainly they have some points in common, and *Vanity Fair* was being published in monthly numbers in 1847-48." William Roughead, *The Seamy Side* (London, Cassell, 1938).

Tolstoi, Leo (1828-1910) *Anna Karénina* 1875-1876

"Tolstoy's Anna is related to Tatiana even in a more direct line. According to Mme. Kouzminskaia, who was Tolstoy's much loved sister and the model for Natasha of *War and Peace,* Pushkin's beautiful daughter whom Tolstoy met only once was the inspiration for Anna Karénina." Manya Gordon, "Russia's First Realist," in the *Saturday Review of Literature,* Feb. 13, 1937. See also Natasha's own book, *Tolstoy as I Knew Him* (Macmillan, 1948), by Tatiana Andreevna (Bers) Kouzminskaia.

——— *War and Peace* 1865-1872

"His wife's younger sister, Tanya, she of the contralto voice (with some admixture of his wife) served Tolstoy as model for Natasha in *War and Peace.*" Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy; First Fifty Years* (1908).

"The characters in the book are not strictly copied from life, but in the main Tolstoy's father's family are represented by the Rostofs and his mother's by the Bolkonskys. The old Prince N. Bolkonsky—Tolstoy's grandfather, Prince N. Volkonsky; his daughter, Princess Marie N. Bolkonsky—Tolstoy's mother, the Princess Marie N. Volkonsky; the old Count Ilya A. Rostof—Tolstoy's grandfather, Count Ilya A. Tolstoy; Count Nicholas I. Rostof—Tolstoy's father, Count Nicholas I. Tolstoy; Countess Natalya Rostof—Tatiana Behrs, Tolstoy's youngest sister-in-law; Sonya—Tatiana A. Ergolsky. Dolohof is made up of a combination of Count Theodore Tolstoy, a famous traveller, with R. I. Dorohof, a notorious dare-devil of Alexander I's days." *Ibid.*

Ullman, James Ramsay (1907-) *Windom's Way* 1952

"Obviously Mr. Ullman's novel is in part inspired by the story of Dr. Gordon Seagrave, the 'Burma Surgeon' who was charged with giving aid to rebels and sentenced to six years in prison." Lewis Gannett in the *New York Herald Tribune,* May 23, 1952.

Verne, Jules (1828-1905) *From the Earth to the Moon and a Trip Round It* 1865

The original of Michel Ardan, the gay and witty Frenchman, was Felix Tournachon, known to Paris as Nadar. Nadar was a jack-of-all-trades: writer, carica-

turist, wit, traveler, photographer and aeronaut, according to Kenneth Allott's *Jules Verne* (Macmillan, 1941).

Wakeman, Frederic (1909-) *The Hucksters* 1946

"The reviewer in *Advertising Age* is interested chiefly in a comparison between Mr. Wakeman's tycoon, Evan Llewellyn Evans, and his reputed model, George Washington Hill, master of the American Tobacco Company." *New York Times Book Review,* June 23, 1946.

Wallace, (Richard Horatio) Edgar (1875-1932) *Sanders of the River* 1910

"Rapidly his characters began to take shape in his imagination. Mr. Commissioner Sanders should be his hero—a mixture of [Sir] Harry Johnston and the other West African commissioners of whom he had heard such romantic and blood-curdling tales; a strong, silent man who spoke the Bomongo tongue to perfection and was little short of a king in the river territories; an administrator of resource and action, who was not afraid to take the law into his own hands and was consequently loved and feared by his cannibal peoples." Margaret Lane, *Edgar Wallace; The Biography of a Phenomenon* (Doubleday, 1939).

Walpole, Sir Hugh (1884-1941) *Fortitude* 1913

"It was also agreeable to be able to present some aspects of his adored Henry James under the guise of the famous old novelist Henry Galleon," writes Rupert Hart-Davis in *Hugh Walpole; a Biography* (Macmillan, 1952). In the character of Mrs. Launce, Walpole drew Mrs. Marie Belloc Lowndes "with loving accuracy."

——— *Harmer John* 1926

Harmer John was based on Lauritz Melchior, the Wagnerian tenor, who was for a time Walpole's protégé and friend.

——— *John Cornelius* 1937

The central character, John Cornelius, is a Hans Christian Andersen-like figure, with some of Walpole's traits added. The character Simeon Rose was meant by Sir Hugh to represent himself. Other actual people included are T. S. Eliot as B. J. Ward; John Galsworthy as Christopher Falling; Arnold Bennett as Bernard Topping; Frederick Rolfe ("Baron Corvo") as Philip Crawford Carstang; Somerset Maugham as Archie Bertrand; H. G. Wells as Owen Roughwood; and D. H. Lawrence as H. B. Terence.

——— *Mr. Perrin and Mr. Traill* (American title: *The Gods and Mr. Perrin*) 1911

Publication of this novel caused a distinct coolness between Epsom College, where Walpole was once an English master, and the author, which lasted until Walpole apologized in his preface to the Everyman's Library edition.

Ward, Elizabeth Stuart (Phelps) (1844-1911) *The Gates Ajar* 1868

"There was an actual human original of the dead brother, Roy [her friend, Samuel Hopkins Thompson of the class of 1862 in the Phillips Academy, Andover, killed at the battle of Antietam] but the original of Mrs. Forceythe is to be found only in a large number of authors whose works have been laid under contribution." Mary Angela Bennett, *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939).

——— *Though Life Do Us Part* 1908

The clergyman, Sterling Hart, was modeled after Phillips Brooks. *Ibid.*

Ward, Mary Augusta (Arnold) ("Mrs. Humphry Ward") (1851-1920)
Eleanor 1900

"Was there ever a greater charmer than Lord Dufferin? In the sketch of the 'Ambassador' ... there are some points caught from the living Lord Dufferin, so closely indeed that before the book came out, I sent him the proofs, and asked his leave—which he gave at once." Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections.*

Helen's Tower, at Clandeboye, Dufferin's Ulster home, where he had formed a collection of memorials of his mother, granddaughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the dramatist, gives its title to one of Harold Nicolson's best books. Mrs. Ward based *Eleanor* to some extent on the romance between Chateaubriand and Madame de Beaumont.

——— *Eltham House* 1915

Caroline Wing is the ostracized Lady Holland of Holland House, a century later.

——— *Helbeck of Bannisdale* 1898

"To return to Westmoreland, it is interesting to know that the idea of *Helbeck of Bannisdale* was suggested to Mrs. Ward by the history of the old Catholic family of the Stricklands who have been settled for many generations at Sizergh, near Kendal. During the long day of travel from North to South the whole story shaped itself clearly in her mind." F. Hamel in the *Bookman*, October 1903.

——— *The History of David Grieve* 1892

"To the same beloved sister [Mrs. Leonard Huxley], she was indebted for the inimitable tales of her small boy, Julian, which enlivened the later pages of *David Grieve*, for Sandy Grieve was taken direct from this little grandson of the Professor [Thomas H. Huxley]." Janet Trevelyan, *The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward* (Dodd, 1923). Julian Huxley, brother of Aldous, has become a well-known scientist in his own right.

"Elise Delaunay, in *The History of David Grieve*, is an almost heartless caricature of Marie Bashkirtseff." Edward Wagenknecht, *Cavalcade of the English Novel* (Holt, 1943).

——— *Lady Rose's Daughter* 1903

Lord Lackington was supposed to be drawn from Sir George Levenson-Gower (pronounced Loosen-Gore), a nephew of two-thirds of the British nobility and a cousin of the rest, according to the late Elizabeth Jordan's autobiography, *Three Rousing Cheers* (Appleton-Century, 1938).

——— *Marcella* 1894

"Lady Wemyss [was] the deep-voiced, queerly-dressed grande dame ... of whom she has recorded a suggestion, perhaps, in the Lady Winterbourne of *Marcella*." Trevelyan.

——— *Robert Elsmere* 1888

"She dedicated her novel to T. H. Green, her friend and teacher and the model for the very literal portrait of 'Grey'; it is the gist of Green's own sermon on St.

Paul which constitutes Grey's sermon that is misinterpreted by Elsmere. And we may be sure that the other portraits, if not so literal, are at least as accurate." Lionel Trilling, *Matthew Arnold* (W. W. Norton, 1939).

Warren, Robert Penn (1905-) *World Enough and Time* 1950

"On May 9, 1826, in the city of Frankfort, Ky., a man went on trial for murder. His name was Jereboam O. Beauchamp. He was charged with the murder of Col. Solomon P. Sharp, a political leader whom Beauchamp had bitterly opposed. That was enough to make the trial sensational. But Sharp had also been the lover of Beauchamp's wife before her marriage. That made the case really interesting, not only to Kentuckians of the time, but to a number of writers since. Beauchamp's confession in jail just added the final fillip. Ballads, novels and plays have been written about it. One of the plays, a poor one [*Politian*] was by Edgar Allan Poe. Today a new novel based upon the Beauchamp case is published. It is *World Enough and Time*, by Robert Penn Warren... Mr. Warren has given his new protagonists new names and made no pretense of sticking closely to the facts of the original case. So this is the story of Jeremiah Beaumont and Rachel Jordan [and Colonel Cassius Fort]." Orville Prescott in the *New York Times*, June 20, 1950.

The late Joseph Shearing also used the case as the basis of *To Bed at Noon* (1951).

Watts-Dunton, Theodore (1832-1914) *Aylwin* 1898

"In Watts-Dunton's novel with a key, *Aylwin* [Charles Augustus] Howell is De Castro and the most vivid and life-like scene in the book describes a conversation between him and the painter D'Arcy [Dante Gabriel Rossetti] in Scott's oyster-rooms... He [Howell] has been represented as a villain; he was certainly a romancer." William Gaunt, *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy* (Harcourt, 1942).

Weidman, Jerome (1913-) *Too Early to Tell* 1946

"He launches into his story about the Bureau of Psychological Combat Training School on a millionaire's estate just out of New York, about the elderly newspaper man with the Mid-Western twang who headed the bureau in Washington, and the globe-trotting 6-foot-8 Pulitzer Prize poet (author of the famous movie script on 'The Boy Abe') who directed its overseas intelligence service... If Mr. Weidman had the faintest idea that any reader of his book would not promptly identify the Marshall Field estate, Robert E. Sherwood and Elmer Davis, he isn't the bright boy who coined the phrases that glitter in his book." Lewis Gannett in the *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 18, 1946.

Wells, H(erbert) G(eorge) (1866-1946) *The Holy Terror* 1939

"His moody dictator is not Hitler, his English fascist leader is not the one whose name comes naturally to mind [Sir Oswald Moseley], the Guidance Movement does not parody an existing religious group, the Purple House bears no resemblance to any Brown House." R. L. Duffus in the *New York Times Book Review*, April 9, 1939.

——— *The Island of Doctor Moreau* 1896

"*The Island of Doctor Moreau* ... is a theological grotesque, and the influence of Swift is very apparent in it. There was a scandalous trial about that time, the graceless and pitiful downfall of a man of genius [Oscar Wilde], and this story was the response of an imaginative mind to the reminder that humanity is but animal rough-hewn to a reasonable shape and in perpetual internal conflict between

instinct and injunction. This story embodies this ideal, but apart from this embodiment it has no allegorical quality." H. G. Wells, Introduction to the Atlantic Edition of the novel (London, T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1924).

——— *Men Like Gods* 1923

"Mr. H. G. Wells, indefatigable midwife of the future, diagnosed him without affection, since Mr. Churchill's attitude to the latest manifestations in Russia was a sad disappointment... This was hardly just. But it was typical of a contemporary tendency to caricature Mr. Churchill in cast-off Napoleonic uniforms, of which Mr. Wells produced a full-length version [as Rupert Catskill] in his *Men Like Gods*." Philip Guedalla, *Mr. Churchill* (N. Y., Reynal, 1942).

Wertenbaker, Charles (Christian) (1901-) *The Barons* 1950

The Barons, a Pennsylvania family whose business is the manufacture of gunpowder, dynamite and trinitrotoluene, "will be by readers and reviewers inevitably associated with the du Ponts of Wilmington, Del.," according to *Newsweek*, Oct. 9, 1950.

"The parallels go deeper. *The Barons* is largely the story of Stuart. His divorce, which rocked Susquehanna society, his long and tragic attempt to marry his third cousin, Philippa, his law suit and feud with his family over disposal of Raoul's 40,000 shares of Baron common that forced him out of the company, all find their counterparts in Wilmington fact or legend." *Time*, Oct. 16, 1950.

White, Nelia Gardner (1894-) *Daughter of Time* 1942

"The people of her story bear names which are not exactly their own, though they have a similar ring. The people become characters in their own right; one could have read profitably and eagerly this portrait of an artist without knowing that a Katherine Mansfield had lived. Mrs. White has used deftly a difficult literary form." Mary Ross in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, March 29, 1942. Aaron Ormsby Barr represents Middleton Murry, Miss Mansfield's second husband; T. L. Davies is D. H. Lawrence; John is George Bowden, her first husband; Bodeway, A. R. Orage; Hardwick, W. L. George. Katherine Mansfield (Beauchamp) is called Katherine Inness.

Orage, editor of *The New Age*, also appears as Whitworth in C. E. Bechhofer Roberts' *Let's Begin Again* (1940).

Wilde, Oscar (1856-1900) *The Picture of Dorian Gray* 1891

Basil Hallward, the artist in the novel, was named for Basil Ward, whose chance remark that it was a pity that a portrait of one of his subjects, a young man, could not age and wither while the young man retained his youth, gave Wilde his central idea for the book. The episode is noted in Hesketh Pearson's *Oscar Wilde; His Life and Wit* (Harper, 1946).

Wilder, Thornton N(iven) (1897-) *The Cabala* 1925

"August 18th (1928). Today we had a pleasant visit from Thornton Wilder, the American writer, unknown until his recent fame as the author of *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*... 'My weakness is that I am too bookish,' he said. 'I know little of life. I made the characters of 'The Bridge' out of the heroes of books. My Marquesa was Madame de Sévigné. In my first novel, *The Cabala*, the hero was Keats. The method has served me well, but I don't want to use it again. I shall not write again before

I have actually observed man better.'" André Maurois, *A Private Universe* (D. Appleton & Co., 1932).

Winner, Percy (1899-) *Dario, 1925-1945; a Fictitious Reminiscence* 1947

"There is more truth than fiction in [this book], because the locale—fascist Italy—is real, and so is the protagonist who is only thinly veiled under the name of Dario Duvolt. For a while one wonders if it is not a composite picture, but at the end it crystallizes into a character portrait of Curzio Malaparte Suckert, whose recent book, *Kaputt*, has been translated into English and published in the United States." Herbert L. Matthews in the *New York Times Book Review*, April 13, 1947.

Winter, (John) Keith (1906-) *Impassioned Pygmies* 1936

E. L. Marius in this novel represents D. H. Lawrence; Andrew Jordan is supposed to be Noel Coward.

Wolfe, Thomas (1900-1938) *The Web and the Rock* 1939

Eugene Gant becomes George Webber in this novel, but the central figure is still unmistakably the author. Alexander Woollcott appears briefly as Andrew Cottswold; Carl Van Vechten as Van Vleeck, the novelist; Elinor Wylie as Rosalind Bailey. Ten pages are devoted to a caricature of the late Ernest Boyd, the critic.

The Journey Down (1938), a novel about a young genius by the scenic designer, Mrs. Aline (Frankau) Bernstein, is suggested as collateral reading with this section of the Wolfe saga. Mrs. Bernstein has been said to be the original of Esther Jack.

——— *You Can't Go Home Again* 1940

In this final novel, the late Maxwell Perkins, who supervised the preparation of the manuscript of Wolfe's first two novels for publication by Charles Scribner's Sons, of which firm he was literary editor, figures at length as Foxhall Edwards. Lloyd McHarg is the late Sinclair Lewis, the novelist; here Wolfe allowed himself considerable literary license, according to Mr. Lewis in an interview appearing later in the *New York Times Book Review*.

"Thomas Wolfe's sister, Mabel, married Ralph H. Wheaton, who was long affiliated with the National Cash Register Company. He is portrayed as Randy Shepperton in *You Can't Go Home Again*." *Thomas Wolfe's Letters to His Mother, Julia Elizabeth Wolfe*. Edited with an Introduction by John Skally Terry (Scribner's, 1943).

Woolf, Virginia (Stephen) (1882-1941) *To the Lighthouse* 1927

"Mr. Annan has taken his cue from the extremely unflattering portrait presented by Virginia Woolf [Sir Leslie Stephen's daughter] in *To the Lighthouse* [as Mr. Ramsay]. He hardly mentions George Meredith, whose intimate friend Stephen was and who put him into *The Egoist* as Vernon Whitford, except to tell us that Virginia Woolf was closer to the truth than Meredith. After all, Leslie Stephen, in spite of his grumpiness with his family, was a man whom people very much liked and who persuaded two clever and attractive women to marry him." *New Yorker*, May 24, 1952.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

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Book Reviews

Studies in Bibliography. Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Edited by Fredson Bowers. Volume Five. 1952-53. [Device] Charlottesville, Virginia, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1952. 230 pp. 6¼ x 9¾ inches. $6.00.

A university book-club or bibliographical society is to scholarship what a private bank is to the world of finance. Both institutions are often the lengthened shadows of the enthusiasts who have founded them or kept them going. In Professor Fredson Bowers, whose *Principles of Bibliographical Description* created some ripples and eddies in the bibliographical stream a few years ago, the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia has an able mentor, and under his aegis may now be said to have arrived. It was host last year to the spring meeting of the BSA; it has an impressive publication list; and the present volume of papers is the fifth.

As in the past, this latest volume of *Studies in Bibliography* presents an infinite variety of subjects and studies. The opening papers are two that were presented originally before the English Institute in 1951: Norman Holmes Pearson's "Problems of Literary Executorship," and Thomas H. Johnson's "Establishing a Text: The Emily Dickinson Papers." Then Harris Chewning studies genealogically "The Text of the 'Envoy to Alison,' " the ballade by Chaucer, in the nine manuscript and early printed versions. Eloise Pafort offers "Notes on the Wynkyn de Worde Editions of the *Boke of St. Albans* and its Separates," describing the various formats both of the whole book and of the separate quartos of the sections on hunting and fishing, and the treatise on the horse, extant in a unique but imperfect exemplar in the Huntington Library and unlisted in STC.

Worth special attention are three studies of Shakespeare. Richard E. Hasker examines "The Copy for the First Folio *Richard II*," and by a combined scrutiny of the agreements and differences of the substantives and accidentals in the Folio text and in Q_3 (1598, White) and Q_5 (1615) concludes that copy for the Folio print of the play was supplied by a made-up prompt-book consisting of an exemplar of Q_3 containing some leaves from Q_5—a theory examined by A. W. Pollard in the introduction to his facsimile edition (1916) of the White quarto of the play, but rejected by him in favor of a more traditional view. I. B. Cauthen, Jr., explores fur-

ther the suggestion first advanced by Thomas Satchell (*TLS*, June 3, 1920) and later employed by E. E. Willoughby (*The Printing of the First Folio*, 1932), Charlton Hinman (*The Library*, 4th Ser., XXI, 1940), and others that spelling tests might help to determine the compositors of the First Folio. His "Compositor Determination in the First Folio *King Lear*," applies the test to a play not so studied before, and confirms Willoughby's conclusion that two compositors were at work on the volume, but that *Lear* was set up throughout by one, designated B by Willoughby. More technical is William B. Todd's distinction of "The Issues and States of the Second Folio and Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare," which rejects from the evidence of printing the theory of the late Robert Metcalf Smith that the copies designated "Allot 1-3" (i.e., variants "Printed . . . for Robert Allot" in three states) are the earliest issues, and maintains instead that these exemplars, so much sought after by collectors, are really made-up remainders, "nothing more than sweepings from the warehouse floor," and that on bibliographical evidence alone the formerly accepted order of variants, issues, and states must be drastically revised. Professor Todd also believes that the Windsor copy of the Second Folio, once owned by Charles I, far from being a relatively unimportant exemplar of "Allot 5" as Professor Smith thought, is in fact an exemplar of the first state in the initial issue, and also the only known exemplar traceable from the very date of publication to the present time.

Other papers in the volume treat later authors, English and American. Donald F. Bond, on "The Text of the *Spectator*," discusses the relationship of the three earliest editions of the papers, folio, octavo, and duodecimo, and directs attention again to the folio text instead of the octavo which has too often been made the basis of modern reprints. W. R. Keast, on "The Preface to *A Dictionary of the English Language:* Johnson's Revision and the Establishment of the Text," calls attention to Johnson's two revisions of the "Preface" and to the fact that only one has been incorporated into versions printed since the eighteenth century. Though disappointing in intrinsic significance and casual in character, these alterations are instructive of the care Johnson gave to textual matters. Finally, among the major papers is one by Philip Gaskell on "Type Sizes in the Eighteenth Century," and another by Campbell R. Coxe on "Pre-Publication Printings of Tarkington's *Penrod*."

Not the least interesting section of this volume of *Studies* is that entitled "Bibliographica" (pp. 159-210) into which are garnered shorter notes of varying importance and complexity, such as Curt Bühler's description of the printing mishap which produced the unique peculiarities

of the Morgan Library copy of William de Machlinia's *Speculum Christiani* (*ca.* 1486); Sarah Dickson's identification of J. C.'s *The Melancholy Cavalier* (1654) as a plagiarism of Samuel Rowlands's *The Melancholy Knight* (1615); a pair of articles by Marion H. Hamilton and Fredson Bowers on the early editions, authentic and pirated, of Dryden's *State of Innocence;* Raymond Biswanger, Jr.'s description of the bibliographical problems presented by Thomas D'Urfey's *Richmond Heiress* (1693); Jeanne Addison Masengill's distinction of "Variant Forms of Fielding's *Coffee-House Politician*" (1730) and her demonstration that they represent actually only one edition in three issues, the third of which exists in two states; Oliver L. Steele, Jr.'s demonstration that in spite of a difference in format, the octavo *Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia* (1733) was actually printed from the standing type of the folio text; and A. T. Hazen's attribution of the first manufacture of wove paper to James Whatman and not John Baskerville, as formerly supposed. Space permits the mention of only one more article—Walter Harding's "A Sheaf of [Unpublished] Whitman Letters," relating to Whitman's publishing affairs. None is of startling significance in itself, but the collection as a whole illuminates the subject of the economics of authorship in the nineteenth century.

Finally, there is "A Selective Check List of Bibliographical Scholarship for 1951," compiled by Rudolf Hirsch and Howell J. Heaney. It is a specialists' hunting ground.

Studies in Bibliography is beautifully printed by the William Byrd Press of Richmond on Strathmore Pastelle and covered with Tweedweave Text over boards. But it is regrettable that in a book written both by and for sleuths with an eagle eye for the typographical peculiarities of others so many printer's errors should have escaped detection.

Karl J. Holzknecht

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Union Géographique Internationale. *Rapport de la Commission pour la Bibliographie des Cartes Anciennes.* [Paris], Publié avec le concours financier de l'UNESCO, 1952. Fascicule I (63 pp.) and II (95 pp.). 7⅛ x 5¼ inches. (Edition of 500 copies, of which 150 are reserved for the USA. Sole agent: Pierre Berès, New York. $3.00 for two volumes.)

The two fascicles under review are the first publications of the ambitious undertaking described in the title and sponsored by this committee.

The first volume contains the report of the President of the Commission (Professor R. Almagià of Rome) presented at the Washington Geographical Congress of this year. It further includes a section of contributions towards a catalogue of manuscript maps 1200-1500 under the general editorship of Marcel Destombes, a distinguished expert in this field. Three special studies are printed here: a descriptive listing of the extant manuscripts and printed editions of Macrobius and a catalogue of Catalan portolan charts of the fourteenth century, both by M. Destombes, and a description of the map made by Richard de Haldingham (*ca.* 1300) preserved in Hereford Cathedral, from the pen of G. R. Crone of the Royal Geographical Society. The second volume comprises a catalogue of engraved maps of the fifteenth century both in book form (incunabula) and as separate sheets.

As one has the right to expect from such eminent scholars, the two volumes are thoroughly sound and will prove themselves invaluable to students of both branches of bibliography. This reviewer, not being a geographer, had best confine himself to the bibliographical aspects; a close study of these notes shows that they are concise and accurate and no omissions were discovered either in the manuscript or incunabula lists. The "Bibliographies" attached to each item are very copious and naturally include many titles with which this writer was not familiar. The series—for two more volumes are planned for the near future, the first of which will deal with nautical charts prior to 1500—will be sure to be well-received by all bibliographers, librarians and dealers who concern themselves with cartography and geography.

Of very great bibliophilic interest are M. Destombes' figures on the extant copies of the incunabula which he lists. For the *Nürnberg Chronicle*, these figures are rather astonishing: the first Latin edition (1493) is credited with over 600 extant copies, the first German (1493) with but 66, the second German (1496) with a mere 19, the second Latin (1497) with 58, and the third German (1500) with 25. This seems most singular indeed! However, all figures of this sort must be handled with caution, as M. Destombes is well aware, and it is not difficult to add examples to those copies he lists. The first edition of Caxton's *Myrrour* (Destombes 13) is credited with 11 copies, whereas de Ricci knew of 17 and 20 are now recorded; the second edition is represented by 7 examples, though there are 13 in de Ricci and 18 are now located. For the Spanish Breydenbach (Zaragoza, 1498; Destombes 8), 9 copies are located, including Madrid, Escorial and Lisbon. There are actually three copies in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional; Real Academia Española; Palacio Nacional) and

two in Lisbon (Biblioteca Nacional and Palacio Ajuda); another copy is found in Palma (Biblioteca Provincial) and one is privately owned in South America. For the Pomponius Mela (Salamanca, 1498), M. Destombes cites 8 copies, including one in Madrid. But Iberia is better provided than this! There are copies at Seville (Colombina and Universitaria), Salamanca, Toledo and Lisbon, while still another belongs to the private library at the Quinta of the Visconde da Esperança, Evora, Portugal. While the *number* of extant copies can thus be increased, it is likely that the *proportions* as given by M. Destombes will remain constant so that his inferences need not be substantially altered.

Although it is a slight enough matter, it is strangely curious that a work issued by a geographical society should contain so many misprints in the names of cities (Winsor, Stokholm, and a very careless use of the German umlaut). Under no. 27 (the French Breydenbach, Lyon, 1488), one encounters the somewhat startling note in the list of copies—"Allemagne: GKW 5080; Lüttich." If one did not also note a copy under "Belgique: Liége," one might think that the International Geographical Union had accomplished something which escaped the best (or worst) intentions of the Kaiser and Hitler.

Since these strictures are very slight and affect no major problems in these volumes, they need not be taken too seriously; they would not have been discussed at all if the books had been issued under other sponsorship. Those bibliographical goals which M. Destombes has set for himself are fully achieved in a clear and simple manner. What more can one ask of any piece of research? It is certain that these volumes will find their proper place on the shelves of all major libraries and on the desks of many professional geographers and bibliographers.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

The World Encompassed. An Exhibition of the History of Maps Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art October 7 to November 23, 1952. Organized by The Peabody Institute Library, The Walters Art Gallery, The John Work Garrett Library of the Johns Hopkins University in Coöperation with the Baltimore Museum of Art. Published by the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery. Baltimore, Maryland, 1952. [xiv], [125] pp. + LX collotype plates. 12 x 9 inches. $4.75.

To review the catalogue of a map exhibition might appear to some as rather unnecessary. A list of objects in a display, however interesting,

would seem to have little value. But the exhibition that called forth the catalogue in question was something so extraordinary that the usual standards of critical measurement have to be revised to cope with it.

Chiefly through the initiative of Mr. Lloyd A. Brown, Librarian of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, along with the generous coöperation and participation of the Walters Art Gallery, the John Work Garrett Library of the Johns Hopkins University and the Baltimore Museum of Art, a map exhibit *par excellence* was held at the last named institution from October 7th to November 23rd this past fall. So much thought and energy had gone into the selection of the materials that the result was nearly overpowering in its scope and quality. Here in one place were assembled the chief map treasures of the Western Hemisphere, augmented with a few hand-picked European selections. Missing only were loans from libraries and organizations whose rules and regulations forbade them from exhibiting. Particularly in the case of the John Carter Brown Library of Providence was this gap keenly felt.

Not the least part of the exhibition was its catalogue, issued under the title *The World Encompassed*. From its cheerful paper binding, reproduced from Waghenaer's *Spiegel Der Zeevaerdt*, to the thirty pages of first-rate collotype plates, the volume is a typographical pleasure. The book was made possible by a gift from Mrs. John Work Garrett of Baltimore, who also gave her personal attention to the project until the day of her death last summer. Particularly impressive is the list of authorities who assisted in the preparation of the catalogue. Theirs is a job well done plus the fact that the publication deadline was met with such hairline accuracy that the paste on the covers of the book was barely dry by opening day. In spite of the care taken in the compilation, some small errors crept into the work, but the editors have issued a detailed "Addenda and Corrigenda" rectifying these for future generations.

From a strictly bibliographical standpoint, possibly some advantage might have been derived from a general pagination throughout the work instead of solely in the Foreword and Introduction. Cataloguers and others in the library world are not going to enjoy counting the pages when writing their descriptions. The omission of pagination unquestionably came from the feeling that the exhibits are listed in numbered sequence, which is in itself a tight frame of reference.

The catalogue consists of 282 individual entries and text, starting with a pictographic Mesopotamian land record dated some three thousand years before Christ, and ending with maps of Japan. By and large the arrangement is chronological within certain defined sections. The first of these is

called "Maps of Antiquity," which, in addition to the land record mentioned above, has a Babylonian field plan from Yale, an Egyptian papyrus map, and a thirteenth-century Greek fragment preserving parts of three maps derived from those of the second-century Alexandrian geographer, Claudius Ptolemy, which was loaned for the exhibition by the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The next division is that of "Maps of the Middle Ages," which includes some of the weird productions of that extraordinary period when the patristic doctrines of the Christian church swayed men's minds to the point of fancy, leaving heretical fact far in the background. Also included are some Arabic manuscript maps, and the famous Leardo map of the world executed in Venice in the mid-fifteenth century, this treasure being the property of the American Geographical Society.

After a sampling of land maps of the Middle Ages, the catalogue takes up "Sea-Charts of the Middle Ages," followed by "The Renaissance—The Revival of Ptolemy." The section devoted to "The Renaissance and its 'Modern Maps' " includes various Erhard Etzlaub maps for pilgrims, three of which come from the recently acquired Harvard-Liechtenstein Collection. For "The Age of Discovery" the catalogue entries list such notable volumes as the 1507 Ptolemy containing the first state of the Joannes Ruysch map of the world. "The Island Books," "The Sea-Charts of the Renaissance," and "The Great Age of Cartography—Maps, Atlases and Globes" constitute sections of absorbing interest. From the reviewer's point of view, "Cartography for the Mariner" is one of the high points of the book. The charts and volumes represented in this division meant, in many cases, life or death to the user. Dudley's *Dell'Arcano del Mare* . . . of 1646-47, lent by Mr. Henry C. Taylor, and the early sea atlases of John Seller, Greenville Collins, William Hack and others are of particular interest to the history of navigation. Under the general heading of "The Exploration and Colonization of America" are some landmarks that graphically portray the opening of the western world. Here appears the superlative map of the coastline of New France drawn by Samuel de Champlain himself in 1607, considered to be one of the great cartographical treasures in America and now the property of the Library of Congress, and the first map made in America (by John Foster of Boston in 1677) to show New England during the early Indian wars. It is here also that one can find the world map issued by William C. Woodbridge in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1821, which was claimed by the late Professor William H. Hobbs to be the earliest to show and label the Antarctic discoveries of Nathaniel B. Palmer of Stonington, Conn., while on a

sealing voyage. This reviewer takes issue, however, with the entry in the catalogue which categorically states that Palmer discovered the Antarctic Continent. This question is still subject to serious consideration and all of the evidence is not yet in.

The last two sections of the catalogue treat respectively "The Art of the Panorama" and "Japan and Japanese Maps." Orphans of the book and print world, panoramic views are so close to maps that by rights they should be considered with them. Certainly they are first cousins, and there is nothing finer than Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitas Orbis Terrarum* of 1572-75. The Japanese category could have been made more inclusive by adding Chinese cartography as well under a general Oriental title.

ALEXANDER O. VIETOR

Yale University Library

SCHNEIDER, GEORG. *Die Schlüsselliteratur.* Stuttgart, Hiersemann Verlags-G.m.b.H. Volume I, *Das literarische Gesamtbild*, 1951, XVI + 214 pp. Volume II, *Entschlüsselung deutscher Romane und Dramen*, 1952, VIII + 212 pp. 9½ x 6½ inches. DM 32.00.

Georg Schneider is best known to bibliographers as the author of the *Handbuch der Bibliographie*, of which four German editions and a partial English translation have appeared. Now retired from the former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, he has continued his bibliographical studies with the same zeal. After twenty-five years of research he has completed his investigation of key literature *(romans, drames à clef)*, of which the first volume deals with the theoretical and historical aspects, the second with German key literature, and the third (to be published at an early date) with non-German key literature.

To compile an exhaustive bibliography of key literature would be a well-nigh impossible task, for there are multitudes of minor novels and dramas with a purely local background which only a student of regional literature can identify as key literature. This reviewer's intensive study of *The Kentucky Novel* (University of Kentucky Press, 1953) contains twenty-six titles which use characters drawn from real life, but the number could probably be doubled if it had been possible to conduct detailed studies for the sources of many minor (and usually worthless) books. Accordingly, Schneider's definitions, examples, and studies of methods of selected authors whom he cites in the first volume are the most valuable aspects of his work.

The second volume is modestly and appropriately called a "collection

of examples" from German literature. Here Schneider shows a thorough familiarity with the most important key literature of the Germanies from Emperor Maximilian's *Theuerdanck* (1517) up to the first World War. The third volume, also to be a "collection of examples," will deal primarily with French, English, and Scandinavian literature, according to the prospectus. Presumably the section on French literature will be representative, since Schneider is familiar with A. F. Drujon's *Livres à clef* (1888); but it is doubtful that English and particularly American key literature will be handled as well, since Schneider apparently does not know Earle F. Walbridge's *Literary Characters Drawn from Life* (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1936) and most of Mr. Walbridge's other contributions on the subject which have appeared in several American periodicals, excluding a single reference (Vol. 1, p. 4, note 1) to a contribution by Mr. Walbridge to *Publishers' Weekly*. Thus he would not have been compelled to speculate on possible sources for Frank Norris' *The Octopus* on p. 108 of the first volume, and he could have given a far richer list of American key novels than the few he cites on this and the following page.*

In spite of the unfortunate circumstance that Schneider did not know Mr. Walbridge's work, *Die Schlüsselliteratur* will be an essential part of the reference apparatus of any research library. It is the result of meticulous research in European literature, and the first volume is a useful presentation of the general problems of key literature. The second volume is an especially competent treatment of German key literature, a basic tool for scholars in this field.

Lawrence S. Thompson

University of Kentucky Libraries

* See pp. 161-191 of this issue of the Papers. See also *College and Research Libraries*, XIV (1953), 109: "The genre poses rather difficult problems for beginning students of literary history; but, strangely enough, the only study prior to Schneider's is A. Ferdinand Drujon's *Livres à clef* (1888). . . ." *Editor.*